Art isLong, But Still
Summer Labors Bear Winter
Fruit.

All summer, from June until November, I worked on projects that are just now beginning to bear fruit. Some of these projects were entirely labors of love, for art is not as profitable as many people seem to imagine it to be, particularly opera and poetry. Art, like virtue, is often its own reward. But, nevertheless, it is gratifying to see such rewards come into being in print or on the stage.
From my old play, "Mulatto" in which, at various times during its run of a year on Broadway and eight months on the road, RoseMcClendon, Mercedes Gilbert, and Abbie Mitchell played the leading role of the Negro mother, I made an opera Libretto called, "The Barrier".
Several months of hard work went into this project, including many hot summer days. Jan Meyerowitz set it to modern but melodic music.
And on Jan. 18th, the Opera Workshop of Columbia University presented it for ten performances with Muriel Rahn as the mother. They gave it a distinguished and beautiful production, and the New York critics were, on the whole, kind to it, The day after the reviews appeared, all seats for the entire run were sold out. Audiences shouted, "Bravo!" nightly at the final curtain. Summer labors bore winter fruit.
All summer dozens of letters had to be written to solicit the poems and book reviews that make up the Special Negro poets Issue of "Voices," which I edited that appeared on the newstands this January. Our leading poets responded with their finest poems. The issue contains exciting, new verses by such well-known poets as Georgia Douglas Johnson, Melvin B. Tolson, Jessie Fauset, Waring Cuney, Effie Lee Newsome, Frank Marshall Davis, and Gwendolyn Brooks. The younger poets are represented by Bruce McM. Wright, Moses Carl Holman, Robert Hayden, Elsie Mills, Russell Atkins, and others. There is a fine poem on Bessie Smith by Myron O'Higgins. Not since the Negro Issus of "Palms" back in the 20's have so many good Negro poets been gathered together in a single magazine. Summer labors bearing winter fruit. I hope of interest to all lovers of peotry.
During the past summer, besides working with Jan Meyerowitz on "The Barrier", I collaborated also with a young composer named Joe Sherman on a new musical called, "Just Around the Corner," for which we completed twenty songs. I also wrote songs with several other composers insluding Dave Martin, Lawrence Smith, and Albert Hague. Some of these songs were scheduled for recording this winter by popular artists. And this season Marian Anderson is using a new setting of my poems, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," by Howard Swanson, a young Negro whose compositions are becoming increasingly well known. Summer labor again bearing winterfruit in song.
In the offing still, however, is a work which occupied many June, July, and August hours until late at night- in fact- into the dawn. That was putting my "Chicago Defender" character, Simple, into book form, makin g his columns into a story, not simply a series of conversations. This went to press in December and in March it will be a book called, "Simple Speaks His Mind," published by Simon and Schuster. It is, I believe, the first book of sympathetically humorous stories about a Negro in a long time. But it has its serious side, too, for Simple speaks his mind on mnay problems that are close to all of us who are colored- and that should be of concern to all America- since Negroes happen to be democracy's Achilles' heel. Anyhow, Simple's story is again summer labor bearing winter fruit.

see other side

Simple and I both hope there will be enough winter fruit to enable us not to have to work so hard next summer. But you can never tell about art. Art is like a race horse- it may win, place or show. Then again, it might get stuck in the mud, or left at the post. You can never know-which is perhaps what makes art as exciting to fool around with as the track, numbers, Chinese lottery, or stud poker. Nobody really knows how the deal will go down.

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 2-4-50

LANGSTON Hughes

America Can Well Be Proud Of Cleveland's New Karamu Theatre

ZELMA Watson George gives a hair-raising portrayal of "The Medium" in the Lyric Theatre's production of that Gion Carlo Menotti music-drama in Cleveland. At the new Karamu Theatre which this distinguished settlement house has built, amazing and wonderful things are happening these days. The home of America's oldest and best Negro drama group, the Gilpin Players, now houses three additional groups — the newly formed interracial Lyric Theatre, a Children's Theatre, and a Puppet Theatre.

For more than twenty years now the Gilpin Players have been doing regularly every season (except for a short period after their theatre burned down) mostly plays by or about Negroes with an occasional non-racial production. To open their new theatre, however, they chose a revival of "Family Portrait" with Hazel Mountain Walker in the leading role. When I was in Cleveland toward the end of February, Noland Bell was playing the lead in "Androcles and the Lion." And "Set My People Free," concerning a South Carolina slave revolt, was the next scheduled production.

Many excellent Negro actors and dancers, including Frank Mariott and Royce Wallace, have come from the Gilpin Players to Broadway. Now that they possess one of the finest little theatres in the country — including besides the main auditorium, an arena theatre and an outdoor theatre — with the most modern and up-to-date equipment, Karamu House becomes our most important center of Negro and interracial theatrical activities. Their production of "The Medium" which I saw, with an all-Negro cast, was a thrilling experience. As directed by Benjamin D. Frank, under the musical direction of Leonard Shure, it is very different from the original Broadway version starring Marie Powers.

Miss Powers played the Medium as a woman of great power, striding about the stage until defeated by her own fears. Zelma George plays the Medium as a paralytic in a wheel chair, able to drag herself only from the chair to a couch. But she takes a few highly dramatic steps at the play's climax. This utterly different portrayal is most effective theatrically. Musically, too, Zelma George sings the role with a color and intensity that sends shivers down the spines of her listeners. It is one of the finest dramatic-musical performances I have seen in the theatre.

They tell me that there are two other complete casts of "The Medium" performing at Karamu, interracial casts, and that each group does a different interpretation—which certainly adds interest to Karamu House productions. In the group which I saw, besides Mrs. George, Charles Bettis seemed to me particularly outstanding as the Gypsy Boy, and Gloria Whittley sang beautifully as Monica. Sylvia Hunter, Sherman Snead, and Gladys Tiff also were excellent. And two pianists (whose names I neglected to note) played the score very well indeed.

Russell and Rowena Jelliffe, who have directed Karamu House for a quarter of a century, have given Cleveland a new Theatre Center of which the entire nation might well be proud.

LANGSTON Hughes

'Magic Island' Of Haiti Is a Wonderful Prize For Defender Contest Winners

IF THE CHICAGO DEFENDER'S Popularity Contest were open to men (and if Defender workers were not barred) I would like to be one of the winners so I could go back to Haiti again, especially this spring during the great 1950 Bi-Centennial Haitian Exposition. The trips being offered by the Defender are grand prizes indeed for, as William Seabrook once wrote, Haiti is truly a "Magic Island."

I spent six months in Haiti once, mostly in the North at Cap Haitien beneath the shadow of Christophe's tremendous Citadel, its mighty ruins now one of the wonders of the modern world. At night I listened to the congo drums or visited voodoo ceremonies in the hills. By day I lay on the sunkissed beaches or went sailing with the fishermen on a sky blue sea. When I came back I wrote, in collaboration with Arna Bontemps, a children's story about Haiti called, "Popo And Fifina" which E. Simms Campbell illustrated.

If the Defender's Popularity Contest winners are "race" women, they will love Haiti because it is truly a Negro country from the President on down. Haiti is nobody's colony. Colored people own and run it. And there is no Jim Crow there. It is true there are social levels, classes, and caste, which we have in the U.S.A., too. But there are no FOR WHITES ONLY signs in the entire country. And no hotels, restaurants, or night clubs where we may not lodge, dine, or dance.

There are some excellent hotels in Haiti, and delicious food of French influence, and all the tropical fruits you ever dreamed of including mangoes of unsurpassed sweetness. The mango is not an easy fruit to eat without stickiness, unless you know how, or a waiter peels and forks it for you. But in the country, you simply sit under the mango trees with a basin or bucket of water and eat and wash, eat and wash to your heart's content.

Haiti's sea, sky, and mountains are thrillingly beautiful, and the music of its drums most stirring. But more thrilling than its scenery and more stirring than its music, is its history. Haiti has a great and noble past. Toussaint, Dessalines, and Christophe dignify the history of the New World. And the Haitians, under their leadership, were the first Negroes in the Americas to free themselves from slavery. Nobody set the Haitians free. They freed themselves.

There are some excellent and very readable books about Haiti which you might look into before visiting that country. John W. Vandercook's "Black Majesty" is as exciting to read as a Hollywood adventure script and it brings all the Haitian past vividly to life. "Black Haiti" by Blair Niles combines both past and present in a beautiful picture. "The Magic Island" by Seabrook is largely about voodoo and congo rites. "The Black Consul" by Vinogradov and "Citizen Toussaint" by Korngold are portraits of its greatest man and his times. "Black Democracy" by Davis pictures Haiti's political struggles and problems. And the Herskovits "Life in A Haitian Valley" is an accurate sociological study of village customs and native ways. Exciting in books, Haiti is even more exciting in reality—being a story-book country. And this, its Exposition time, is the year to go. I envy those who will be the Defender's guests there. A magic trip to a magic land!

LANGSTON Hughes

New York Days Need Forty-Eight Hours Instead Of Twenty-Four

UMN in New York is certainly me at a rapid pace. Manhattan ought to have forty-eight hours wenty-four, then maybe one could and do most of the things one in the world's busiest city. One eighteen out of twenty-four hours luncheons, dinners, or parties. Or many hours catching up on new and art exhibits. Or the full visiting friends one has not time even though they live in area, or else meeting new to New York every day from world and phone or drop notes to in town and anxious to see

tober week for me began with a nothing but work, revisions on musical drama, 'The Barrier.' I had intended going to a party Bazaar for the famous Ameri- uth St. Denis, but I didn't get was not finished until long after morning I had to type out the show in preparation for a big barren stage of the old now called the ANTA. A music in progress when I arrived in noon, the orchestra filling the ody and the singers singing lusti- director did not intend to rehearse until the next day, so I was able to leave before about five to the Waldorf-Astoria where holding its Fifth Anniversary

and his brother was at the party, of "Our World," to the Bloody Pacific." The suite of rooms in was crowded to capacity. It one of A'lelia Walker's packed in the days of the Negro ept that there were no Bran- those days. At "Ebony's" party ally charming chicks in red were assisting Mr. and Mrs. Johnson at making the guests ful time was had by all.

home a stenographer was wait- with a pile of mail until mid- membered that I was supposed some books at the Club Baron usingly-staged Alice Childress adaptation of my "Chicago Defender" book, "Simple Speaks His Mind" is playing under the title, "Just A Little Simple." So I went over to the Baron and stayed there until three in the morning talking with the actors. The next day, before rehearsals of "The Barrier," I had to attend an ASCAP meeting at the Hotel Plaza to hear a very important report on our new classification system and division of songwriters' monies. Most of Negro America's great songwriters were there: W. C. Handy, Joe Trent, Benny Benjamin, Spencer Williams, Maceo Pinkard, Clarence Cameron White, and a dozen others mingling with the top names of American music.

After the meeting I rushed back to my own rehearsals and stayed until six when I hailed a cab to the Vassar Club for a party and exhibition which the Harmon Foundation and a group of artists had arranged for the talented Nigerian painter and sculptor, Ben Enwonwu, who had just arrived in America. This dark and bearded young man was surrounded by New York's Who's Who of Negro life—the chic and charming Etta Moten, Walter White and his Poppy, the George S. Schuylers, Lester Granger, Claude Barnett, Richmond Barthe, and some equally celebrated white folks. Art, conversation, tea, cakes, and sherry kept me from getting too hungry before dinner. But a lot of folks didn't seem hungry at all, so I left them there, long past the cocktail hour, and headed home to Harlem on the subway.

At home I found a phone message inviting me that evening to a friend's house to meet a famous visiting Latin American writer. But I couldn't make it. My calendar for the next day indicated a deadline for insertions in my newest book heading for the printer's, besides a one o'clock rehearsal, besides two downtown appointments, besides this column to write. The week is half over and I haven't opened last Sunday's newspaper yet, nor read all of Monday morning's mail, nor gone to the barber shop. That is why I wish each day had forty-eight hours. I guess many other New Yorkers wish so, too.

LANGSTON Hughes

Sugar Ray's Wonderful Chariot Brings Back Memories Of Other Fabulous Cars

THE other night I saw Sugar Ray whizzing down Harlem's Seventh Avenue in his new, breath-taking strawberry-colored convertible—a motorized slice of rainbow speeding through traffic. The big license plate on the front bumper bore no numbers. Instead there was the word SUGAR in large letters. The plate on its fishtail carried the official tag, New York, 27 RR. With its long body, shining accessories, and imposing crest, Sugar Ray's car is a gorgeous flamingo chariot indeed. It brought back memories of other wonderful cars Harlem has known, especially in the hey-day of the 1920's when darktown New York was a center of nightclubs and sporting life.

Valaida Snow had a mile-long Mercedes Benz in those days, mauve-colored, with a chauffeur in a mauve-colored uniform to match the car, and a live monkey with a mauve-colored beret to complete the picture. As her long car sped up and down Lenox and Seventh Avenues, all eyes turned to see. When the show in which Valaida was starring, Lew Leslie's "Rhapsody in Black," went on the road, she took her car along. On its cross-country tour, the musical often played provincial towns where its Negro cast had to sleep in third-rate hotels and eat in hash houses. The customers in many a ramshackle colored pig-knuckle joint from Newark to St. Louis were startled to see Valaida Snow's amazing car pull up at the curb, her uniformed chauffeur jump out to open the door, and the regal Miss Snow, monkey on shoulder, emerge to order a plate of black-eyed peas and rice.

Another fabulous vehicle of the '20's belonged to Aubrey Lyles of the comedy team of Miller and Lyles in the hit show, "Shuffle Along." Mr. Lyles bought himself a car about the size of a Pullman. Indeed, for touring purposes, he had the back seat so arranged that it would open up into a bed. But the most unusual thing about his car was that its trimmings were ivory, not metal, but pure white African ivory. Every time this beautifully decorated car would stop at a curb in Harlem a crowd would gather to stare and admire. Indeed, the car became better known uptown than the comedian himself or the famous show in which he played for so long.

Jules Bledsoe, the first "Ole Man River" of the original "Show Boat," drove from his Harlem home to his downtown stagedoor in a sleek, softly purring Rolls Royce—the kind where the motor is locked and sealed by the company, so that no ordinary garage mechanic can tinker with it. It was a beautiful car of great dignity. But the thing that startled Harlem was that Mr. Bledsoe had a white chauffeur. Jules Bledsoe was very dark, the chauffeur very white. Mr. Bledsoe explained the reason he had a white chauffeur was in order to be sure folks could tell the difference between the chauffeur and himself. Less successful actors had a more spiteful explanation. They claimed the white chauffeur came with the car as a requirement of the company—since the firm would not permit the owner of so expensive a car to drive it until it was fully paid for.

At any rate, Jules Bledsoe's car and chauffeur were very much talked of by uptown New Yorkers, almost as much as was Valaida Snow's monkey, chauffeur, and car in mauve, or Lyles'

ivory-trimmed vehicle. Then the depression came, followed by World War II, so no one didn't see such startling chariots anymore. But of late, in this brief moment between wars, they have been coming back again. There are many beautiful new automobiles in Harlem now. But 1950's most talked-of car is the one with the big S-U-G-A-R at the front and the strawberry ice cream body. Some folks say it is raspberry. Anyhow, the color is the kind that goes with a word like SUGAR.

LANGSTON Hughes'

Twenty Years Have Made A Vast Change For The Better In Negro Colleges

DURING my recent lecture tour of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, reading my poems at various colleges and high schools, I had the privilege of meeting and talking with hundreds of students and dozens of teachers from Virginia State at Petersburg as far South as Johnson C. Smith at Charlotte. It happened that this year Book Week and Omega Achievement Week coincided and most of the institutions had invited visiting speakers to celebrate either one or the other. In the areas which I visited I crossed the trail of writers Arna Bontemps and J. Saunders Redding, Federal Judge Hastie and Grant Reynolds, all of whom were speaking before college groups.

I found that most of our larger colleges are presenting excellent lecture and concert series for their students this season. At various campuses I came across posters announcing the coming of such cultural attractions as Marian Anderson, the Talley Beatty Ballet group, and the Eva Jessye Choir, as well as a number of distinguished men and women speakers. Almost twenty years ago, when I first began to tour the Negro colleges with my poetry, most of our institutions other than Hampton or Tuskegee, did not have many forum or concert attractions for their student bodies. Now all that is changed, I am happy to report, and at present both Negro and white artists and speakers find large and appreciative audiences at our Negro educational centers.

I am delighted at this change. But it is not the only change for the better which I have noticed in recent years on Negro campuses. In contrast to the early 1930's, I find a great increase in student freedom on most campuses. When I first went into the South, having gotten my own college education at Columbia and Lincoln Universities in New York and Pennsylvania, many of the Negro colleges below the Mason-Dixon Line seemed to me more like high schools in faculty attitudes toward students. At both Columbia and Lincoln students were more or less on their own as to personal behavior. Those who chose smoked, played cards, made dates, staid up as late as desired, and found friends among faculty members or townsfolk as desired. But at that time at a number of Southern campuses from Washington to Texas, I found that not even faculty members at some places could smoke except in secret, or shuffle a deck of cards even for fun, let alone the students doing such things. Men students and women students were rigidly restricted in their social relationships, even to the point of being forbidden to walk together except at certain Sunday afternoon hours. And being off-campus was almost like being off-limits in the army.

Often dormitories were locked at ten o'clock and the main light switch pulled before midnight. On some campuses—colleges, not high schools—students marched out of assemblies like grammar school kids. Relations between faculty and students seemed most formal and largely limited to the class room. But now, at almost all the Negro colleges I have visited since the War, those things have changed greatly—and, in my opinion, for the better. After all, college students are usually adult human beings, not children. So I am pleased to see now that most of them are given a chance to conduct themselves like men and women without being regimented like youngsters. And between faculty and students there seems to me to be much more comradery and friendship than formerly on campus, at parties, and smokers. I saw no abuse of this privilege on the part of students nor any misbehavior.

On the academic side, I find our faculties increasingly staffed with men and women with excellent higher educational backgrounds. And on the physical side, the state institutions particularly have landscaped and beautiful and enlarged their plants. And, since the recent Supreme Court decisions, most of them are building like mad on monies granted by legislators in the hope that Negroes will be satisfied with Negro colleges an not keep on trying to enter "white" ones. It's an ill wind that blows nobody good. Certainly fresher brighter breezes are blowing these days across Southern campuses—both Negro and what used to be "white."

LANGSTON Hughes'

31a Negro

Culture Knows No Color Line, But Often White America Is Unaware Of This Fact

Defender Oct. 14-50

ON A PLEASANT Friday recently some of America's most distinguished poets gathered at Jefferson City, Missouri, for a series of seminars and programs in connection with the opening of Lincoln University's new Inman E. Page Library.

The President of the University, Sherman D. Scruggs, had invited the distinguished authority on semantics, S. I. Hayakawa, to speak in the morning on "Men and Books." Later in the day there was "An Afternoon With The Poets" where Sterling Brown of Howard, Melvin B. Tolson of Langston, Robert Hayden of Fisk, and myself, were heard.

That evening there was a symposium on "The Negro Author Today," led off by Arna Bontemps, well-known novelist and librarian of Fisk. In this two of the poets took part, and Lorenzo Greene spoke on "The Negro Scholar."

Jefferson City is the capitol of the State of Missouri and one of its leading centers. In the region round about are several colleges other than Lincoln. But at these excellently planned literary programs featuring national figures, there were very few white citizens or students present. In fact, they could be counted on the fingers of two—if not one—hands.

As widely known as Arna Bontemps is and as popular as are his novels, his children's books, and his book reviews, I am sure whites in Missouri had heard about him. Certainly my own books, too, and Sterling Brown's are in all their libraries. But they did not come out to hear us at Lincoln University.

I was not surprised. I have spoken often on other Negro campuses. I have sometimes been present when great artists like Dorothy Maynor or Roland Hayes have been performing at colored colleges. So I know from past experience that the whites of the region usually ignore their appearances at Negro institutions.

I am sure Jefferson City seldom, if ever, has had so many writers of national acclaim at one time within its limits as President Scruggs and Chairman Cecil Blue had invited to Lincoln University for the dedication of the Library. But, so far as I know, the local newspapers did not send a single reporter to interview any of these writers. And the white townspeople did not attend the public programs.

This lack of any appreciable number of white teachers, students, or ordinary citizens in the audiences at Lincoln indicates what a wide gulf exists in the mid-west and South between colored Americans and white Americans.

Lincoln, although a state college, is a Negro institution. The speakers were all colored, including the Japanese-American, Hayakawa. Lincoln's students and teachers are colored. So the whole program of dedicating a new and beautiful cultural center remained largely Negro-attended — except for a few state educators and politicians who came for the final ceremony when the Governor was expected to be present. The Governor was not there. He had a cold.

The handsome, new Inman E. Page Library, designed by the Negro architect, Louis E. Fry, of Washington, is an important addition to any community, and one of which the whole of Jefferson City might well be proud. Its dedicatory ceremonies were free and open to the public. But if the interest displayed by the white citizens of that town — by their lack of interest—in its dedication is any indication, they probably do not even know the building is there.

Why did not more of them come to the campus when it was opened? Why were so few present to hear the distinguished writers and scholars who spoke? Or do they know that there are Negro writers and scholars in America? Do they know that we, too, create books, read books, and use libraries? Do they know that in culture there is no color line? Or do they care?

LANGSTON Hughes'

Defender Oct. 7. 1950 31a Negro Chicago Ill.

The Greatest Agitator Of Them All Is The Statue Of Liberty

THE OTHER day I took a ferry ride from the Battery at the end of Manhattan Island across New York Harbor to Staten Island. It is one of the cheapest in price, yet one of the most wonderful rides in the world. From the boat you can see the mighty skyline of New York rising out of the water, Brooklyn, New Jersey, and all the busy shipping of one of the earth's great harbors.

Sometimes you can see the Queen Mary coming into port, or some other powerful liner nosing out to sea. And you pass the biggest agitator in the world, the Statue of Liberty.

I don't know how anyone could ever call Negroes subversive, we have believed in Freedom for so long. We have put our faith, our hopes and our dreams behind all the great American symbols of liberty and democracy. We have helped the Statue of Liberty keep torch lighted for many years.

With her face toward the Old World welcoming the refugees of poverty and oppression, terror and hate, Liberty stands in New York Harbor—some have said—with her back to Harlem. That, I do not believe, is deliberate, for her light shines everywhere.

America was settled by refugees. Sometimes we Negroes wonder how it is that some of them, even in these democratic postwar years, take on so quickly the worst American defect, racial prejudice.

Almost every Negro has had the experience of going into a restaurant in some Northern city owned by someone but recently arrived on our shores who could not yet speak English clearly, and being refused service for the American money in our pockets.

Many of us have gone to a movie, whose manager himself is a refugee from intolerance, only to be directed to the gallery. In the South every day we pass businesses owned by newly naturalized Americans in which we may not enter at all. Yet we have been living here three hundred years. We helped to build America.

The blame is not Liberty's. In New York Harbor her light shines for everyone. Shame on those who pass it and do not understand what it means! Some day Liberty will turn around and say, "My light shines for all."

Then, of course, there will be even more shame and distress among those, native and foreign-born alike, who do not observe her teachings and who would make of Liberty a cheap little tarnished statue of their own prejudices. That is why, when I pass the Statue of Liberty in busy New York Harbor, I say, "You belong to me as well as to anyone else. I, Negro, am your child, too."

Of course, someday the un-American committee might subpoena Liberty as an agitator and ask her a great many questions. They might even have to get an interpreter to interrogate her since Liberty speaks many languages. But when it comes to Negroes, they will not need an interpreter. Our answers can be given in plain American English. And we, through Liberty's mouth, can ask some questions, too.

We can say, "Where is all the money you owe us, America, for two hundred and fifty years of slave labor? We haven't got it." We can ask, "Is not the right to work in freedom a part of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?" We can demand, "Isn't the right to vote a democratic right, North or South?" We can inquire, "Should we not have the same educational advantages as other Americans?" We can say, "Isn't a public place supposed to be a PUBLIC place? Therefore, how can you permit me to be barred out of almost all the public places in Washington, D.C., except those in strictly Negro neighborhoods?" We can ask, "Shouldn't we at least have the same chance that refugees have? When will you permit us the privileges you offer Russians, Germans, Poles or Danes who come to our shores? When?" Liberty would take delight in asking those questions for us. At least, I thought I heard Liberty say so when I sailed past her the other day in New York Harbor.

LANGSTON Hughes

What Was Fashionable In ..'s Will Be Fashionable In ..'s For Another Reason

MY CONGRATULATIONS to Mrs. Edith Sampson on her appointment as an American delegate to the United Nations. Certainly all decent minded citizens rejoice that so able a woman will represent us in so important a body. Her appointment, the various duties assigned Ralph Bunche in recent years, the elevation of William Hastie to a Federal Judgeship, all of these things focus attention on the attention being paid able Negro citizens by the politicos of Washington. What is happening now in the '50's makes me remember what happened in the '20's for quite another reason. Now it is politics. Then it was art.

In the 1920's during the period of the Negro Rennassaince, writers of color, Negro actors and sculptors received wide acclaim. Then it was that Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Richmond Barthe, Paul Robeson, Florence Mills, Duke Ellington, and many others first came to fame—and some few to fortune. The cultural minded of America hailed books by and about Negroes, plays acted by Negroes, music created or performed by Negroes, and art exhibited by Negro artists. Roland Hayes and Marian Anderson drew enormous audiences. Florence Mills toured this country and Europe. Ellington became the great master of jazz. And some people hopefully declared that art would solve the race problem. It didn't.

Now the attention is focussed on Negroes for quite another reason—and the race problem is still with us. This time, in these times, because more than half of dark Asia has achieved its freedom from colonial powers and white domination, and because our country is trying very hard to convince Asia that we can be its friend, it is not art nor fashion that focusses attention on Negroes, but politics. It is expedient and wise to have a few Negroes of ability in important positions in order to say to the rest of the world, "There now, you see, look at Mrs. Sampson, at Ralph Bunche, and Judge Hastie." [illegible] I am delighted that this is so. The more [illegible] the world situation, the better in my opinion. I wish I had one myself. But surely nobody really thinks that a handful of jobs or a half dozen im-

portant appointments are going to solve the race problem. Such things are agreeable little steps in the right direction, to be sure, just as it was nice in the '20's that Negro novels were read everywhere or that all America loved Duke Ellington's music.

But Duke Ellington himself, then as now, could not and still cannot get a room in a decent hotel in hundreds of American cities when his band is on tour. If his musicians are motoring through Tulsa, Oklahoma, they cannot (as may other Americans) stop anywhere on the main street and get a sandwich and a cup of coffee. They have to look for a "colored" place. If they are playing Washington, our capital, unless they are playing a Negro club or dance hall, their own wives couldn't buy tickets to hear them. And if Mrs. Edith Sampson were to get off the train this minute at Spokane, Washington—as I did some months ago—she would see signs in restaurant windows near the station: COLORED PATRONAGE NOT DESIRED. And if she asked the Red Cap where she might eat, she would be directed several blocks to the left, and two or three blocks to the right to a Japanese cafe that serves colored people.

There must be by now about eighteen million Negroes in these United States. And not one of us can get a cup of coffee in a public place in 90 per cent of America's restaurants. Which leads me to believe that sometimes democracy lies in a cup of coffee. Personally I do not believe that extraordinary people should have any more privileges than ordinary people. Yet, in most countries of the world famous artists and famous politicians are given the best that the land offers. In our country that is not so if one is colored. Ralph Bunche and a Negro porter both have to use the Jim Crow ticket window in the Birmingham, Alabama, station and sit at the colored counter to get a cup of coffee. Until ALL Negroes can buy tickets anywhere and drink coffee at any counter, nobody will believe our race problem is solved.

LANGSTON Hughes

Simple Says If He Is Not Wanted Where He Would Like To Go. Woe!

"CIVIL rights is one of man's delights, which is why I want my civil rights," said Simple, "and I am glad Negroes are worrying white folks so much about civil rights. As much as white folks worried us in the past, I figure we got a right to worry them a little now. And when I get my civil rights, I will worry them some more."

"What do you mean by that?" I asked.

"What I mean," said Simple, "is that white folks will not like to see you and me setting up beside them at the Stork Club when civil rights comes—Old Mose in good clothes. But neither did we like to see Old Massa in alpaca lording it over us in slavery time. Like them white folks worried me—and still do—I mean to worry them when my day comes."

"You harbor resentment in your heart," I said, "and that is neither Christian nor right."

"White has been right for so long," said Simple, "that I figure I have a right to be wrong once in a while, too."

"Nothing is gained by revenge," I said.

"I have no intention of revenging," said Simple. "My intention is just to enjoy civil rights, which means equal rights, which means equal to the whites, which means you got all kinds of rights—including the right to worry whites."

"No," I said, "that is not what civil rights means at all. Civil rights means the right to enjoy equal treatment in public places, before the law, and so on. But not the right to worry folks."

"White folks have civil rights, haven't they, and yet they worry me? They not only worry me, but if I go in some white place to eat, they put me out. So when I get my civil rights and do get inside the door to set down, why shouldn't I worry them some? Huh?"

"I see you do not belong to the school of thought of not going where you are not wanted, do you?"

"I do not," said Simple. "If I am not wanted where I want to go, I will go anyhow—and woe be unto them! Woe—be—unto them! I do not care if they are worried or not."

"You are very callous," I said.

"My hands is covered with callouses," said Simple.

"I am not talking about your hands," I said. "I am talking about your attitude—as it will appear to sensitive white people. Certainly they will be amazed to see you in the Stork Club."

"I would be amazed to see myself there," said Simple. "But if Armenians, Hungarians, Australians, Denmarkians, Germans and Irish can go there, why can't I?"

"Well, for one thing, you haven't got the money," I said.

"After I get my civil rights, then I will take up the problem of money," said Simple. "By that time there will be an FEPC and I can get a good job. Also by that time there will be free schools for free Negroes from Mobile to Manhattan and I can get a good education. With a good education I can earn good dough. And with dough, I can go. Do you dig, bo?"

"If you should live so long," I said.

"That is my problem," said Simple, "to try and live so long. But I have been here a pretty good little while as it is. If I can stay here two times this much longer, no telling what change might take place in the world. I might even live to see Ralph Bunche elected President."

"I hope to live that long," I said.

"... too," said Simple.

LANGSTON Hughes

A Good Negro History Week Pilgrimage Would Be To Yale University Library

PERSONS interested in contemporary Negro history, particularly its literary and artistic aspects, could do no better than make a pilgrimage to the Yale University Library at New Haven, before February 15th, for there now on display is the opening exhibit of the James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection of Negro Arts and Letters established by Carl Van Vechten. It is one of the most beautifully mounted and cased exhibits relating to Negro life that I have ever seen. It is open to the public without charge and you are invited.

The exhibit is housed in the main corridors and in three large rooms of the Yale Library, one room containing nothing but the quaintly charming drawings of Mary Bell of Boston. There are also for the visual-minded dozens of large handsome photographs of Negro celebrities ranging from teen-aged Phillipa Schuyler to W. E. B. DuBois, past three score and ten, from our youngest Negro novelist, William Gardner Smith, in his twenties, to the dean of Negro composers, W. C. Handy, in his seventies. These photographs are by Carl Van Vechten. But there are many others contributed by relatives and friends, including a baby picture of the author, Wallace Thurman, and one of the famous theatrical team of Cole and Johnson at the turn of the century. There are also wonderful playbills and posters from 1900 to the present day.

In the cases are original first drafts and handwritten manuscripts of almost all our famous authors of the last fifty years from James Weldon Johnson himself, Countee Cullen, and Claude McKay, down to Richard Wright and Ann Petry. There are letters from Arna Bontemps, Walter White, Zora Neale Hurston, and almost any other famous Negro of our times you might think of, just in case you care to see how they sign their names. (Some sign just like important white folks—you can't make out what they are putting down at all.) But if you can tell character from handwriting, there it is, laid bare for the world to see, and preserved for posterity at Yale.

Literary and theatrical scholars can have a ball with the James Weldon Johnson Collection. Researchers into the life and times of Miss Ethel Waters, for example, will find a wealth of material from letters to photographs, theatre programs to a very nearly complete collection of her records, including "Shake That Thing." In years to come, if someone is doing a history of the Negro novel in America, they can find at Yale all of the drafts of Ann Petry's "The Street." If some poet of tomorrow would like to know how Countee Cullen's lovely lyrics came into being, he can follow them step by step from the first pencilled lines to the finished typewritten copies in the James Weldon Johnson Collection in New Haven. And in case anybody is interested in how I wrote the songs for "Street Scene," there is a pile of drafts three feet high at Yale.

If you want to do research with your ears, not your eyes, and are interested in American blues, you can hear Bessie Smith in all her original glory on records preserved at Yale. Presented by Carl Van Vechten to be played only a limited number of times a year—folks can still hear Bessie in 2200. Just in case nobody knows what the Yaller Dog is by that time, a glossary of colloquial words and phrases has been prepared to help preserve the lyric nuances of these blues.

The material now on public display at Yale is hardly one percent of the interesting items belonging to the Collection, protected on shelves and in numbered boxes in the American Literature Division of the Library. Although the James Weldon Johnson Collection is less than ten years old, there is nothing else like it in the world. In years to come it will certainly be one of the special points of interest in America, not only during Negro History Week, but the whole year.

LANGSTON Hughes

According To Joyce, White Women Are Out To Ruin The Negro Race

"AS much as I like to argue," said Simple, "I did not answer back last night when Joyce made a statement with which I could not exactly agree."

"What was that?" I asked.

"That white women are out to wreck and ruin the Negro race," said Simple.

"Whatever gave Joyce such a preposterous idea," I demanded.

"Haven't you been reading the papers lately?" asked Simple. "If you haven't, Joyce has. And you know these colored papers can really upset you, if you are colored yourself. One week it's lynchings. Next week it's race riots. Another time it's you can't vote. Or else you can't live here, or you can't eat there."

"What is it we can't do this time?" I asked.

It ain't what we can't do that's got Joyce upset," said Simple. "It's what we are doing—that is, marrying white women. Joyce is almost as upset as Bilbo or Rankin would be. She says she pays her dollar dues regular each and every year into the NAACP treasury. And here one top head after another has jumped up and married a white woman. Joyce is mad. She says she don't see why a colored woman is not good enough for our colored leaders."

"I have always considered marriage a private matter, myself," I said, "so I cannot agree with Joyce."

"That's what I would say, too," said Simple, "If I dared to say anything. But I eat Joyce's food almost every night I can catch her home, so I darsent open my mouth. That is a sore subject with Joyce. And her big old fat old landlady backs her up on it. Both of them says when a colored man is in public life, he belongs to the public, and he has got no business letting the race down by marrying a white woman. Besides, they make good salaries. And Joyce says she ain't paying her dollar each and every year for no white woman to live off her money. Joyce says too many big Negroes with good incomes are up and marrying white, and she never reads about no white woman marrying no poor Negroes. According to Joyce, them women are just taking money away from the race."

"Joyce has love and economics slightly mixed up," I said.

"Um-m-m!" said Simple. "But I dare not dispute her. Her big old fat landlady egged her on by saying, 'Honey, you is right! Them womens is out to ruin the Negro race, financially and every which a way. You just wait until another Scottsboro Case comes up. Them white women will say, Don't you-all go to the defense of them boys, daddy. How do you know but what them Negroes are guilty? They ain't in your intelligent position to marry white, so probably they did try to rape that girl.'"

"That is a very evil thought," I said.

"Colored womens is evil when it comes to intermarriage," said Simple. "Joyce says there ain't no white man ever asked to marry her. All white mens want to do is buy colored women. But colored mens will run after a white woman like a dog, and marry her, too, when they get up in the world, which is a disgrace!"

"Joyce sounds like a Dixiecrat," I said.

"She is from Dixie," said Simple, "and she is a race-woman, for true. She says, 'With all the nice-looking, good-looking, educated young colored girls in the race, I don't see why our leaders, nor no other black man, has to go outside of Harlem to find a wife. We got from dark chocolate to vanilla ice-cream right in our own group. We even got blonds.' And she looked dead at me.

"I said, 'Baby, I ain't thinking about marrying no blond. I am thinking about marrying you.'"

"What did Joyce say then?"

"Joyce says 'Actions speak louder than words, Jess Simple. So make me know it!'"

LANGSTON Hughes

Pulitzer Prize To Gwendolyn Brooks Accents Upsurge Of Negro In Arts

THAT Chicago's fine young Negro poet, Gwendolyn Brooks, should receive this year's Pulitzer Prize for poetry for her very tiny book, "Annie Allen," shows what value lies in her carefully chosen, concisely used, beautifully placed words.

For almost ten years now, I have been hailing Miss Brooks as one of the most important literary talents in America. Naturally, I am delighted to see my own contentions vindicated.

And for more than ten years, I have been saying in print and speech that Chicago's Negro South Side has a great wealth of creative talent.

After recent triumphs in Europe, Katherine Dunham and her troupe are currently performing on Broadway prior to a South American tour. Some of the most startling and stunning dancing ever seen on the Great White Way nightly delights an enormous audience.

Katherine Dunham is from Chicago. Not so many years ago I watched her dancing at a little party on the South Side, with no spot lights, no make-up, no costumes. And at that time I said to myself, "I'll bet she gets there!" She did—and how!

Seated in a hammock stretched the whole width of the Broadway Theatre's stage, lovely in billows of white chiffon, gasps and then a burst of applause greet her as the curtain rises on a star who is a STAR.

And in a little theatre off Broadway, the curtain is rising on the work of another former Chicagoan, Theodore Ward's play, "John Brown." His "Big White Fog" was performed by the Federal Theatre in Chicago, later done in Harlem. And his "Our Lan'" was produced on Broadway a few seasons ago. Now the People's Drama group bring his interesting new historical drama to the public.

Theodore Ward has shined shoes in order to write plays—and they are good plays. I wish our Negro college drama groups, instead of doing so often rehashed Broadway comedies written for white actors, would pay some attention to the work of this talented Negro dramatist.

But, in the commercial theatre, certainly the stars must be right this season for the Negro artist. Juanita Hall as Bloody Mary in "South Pacific" is right up there with the stars in this Pulitzer Prize play. Pearl Bailey made a great personal hit in "Arms And The Girl." "Freight"

with an all Negro (but one) cast has just raised the hair on theatre-goers' heads.

At the Paramount, one of the world's largest motion picture theatres, Billy Eckstine at this moment has them swooning in the aisles. And at the same theatre, Clarence Muse has a big role in the new Bing Crosby picture, Marian Anderson has given three capacity New York concerts this season.

And Louis Armstrong has come back from Scandinavia stronger than ever, still blowing like a house afire after a quarter of a century of acclaim. And a new Negro baritone, William Warfield, has recently drawn rave notices after his first Town Hall concert.

They say it is all in the stars. Maybe so. At any rate, the stars have been behaving quite decently toward our folks in the arts this year from theatre to music to dancing to poetry.

That they have seen fit to crown one of our youngest and most talented of poets with the laurels of a Pulitzer Prize is something that ought to make the dark-skinned astrologers of ancient times proud, if they can see what's going on from their resting places in eternity.

Certainly this splendid award to Gwendolyn Brooks accents the current upsurge of the Negro in the cultural and artistic life of our America. With a little more Civil Rights and better schools and better wages, we could make even greater contributions to the cultural streams of our U. S. A. Do you hear me, Congress?

LANGSTON Hughes

Lovers of Creative Beauty Will Love The Art And Poetry Of Haiti

HAITI has had a number of fine poets in the past including the charming Oswald Durand and the powerful Jacques Roumain, star of modern, Haitian literature. And among the living there are excellent writers of poetry, some of whom you might meet were you to visit Haiti—Jean Brierre, Charles Pressoir, Duracine Vaval, and Roussan Camille, among others. Poetry in translation never equals the original but, in English, one may sample the works of these and other Haitian poets in the recent anthology, "The Poetry Of The Negro," edited by myself and Arna Bontemps, or in "An Anthology of Contemporary Latin-American Poetry," edited by Dudley Fitts.

Novels are much easier to translate than poems. A few years ago, with Dr. Mercer Cook, I had the pleasure of putting into English one of the most beautiful short novels of our time, Jacques Roumain's "Masters Of The Dew," a story of the Haitian country side. Its late author knew and loved the peasants of his native island and he put them into his book with great sympathy and understanding. The hero, Manuel, and his parents, Bienaime and Delira, emerge as very real characters through whose eyes the reader may see a whole way of life alien to himself, but true, fascinating, and deeply rooted in the Caribbean earth.

The fiction of a country often helps a traveller understand the country better than guide books and factual books are able to do. Two colorful novels about Haiti translated from the French and published in our country are "Canape Vert" and "The Beast Of The Haitian Hills" by Pierre and Philippe Thoby Marcellin. If you are contemplating a trip to Haiti—or if you are fortunate enough to be one of the Defender Contest Winners—a look into these books will both delight and instruct you. Of course, for actual history and background for any serious understanding of Haiti, the many biographies of Toussaint L'Ouverture, or those of Christophe or Dessalines, might be a starting point. And for charming reading as well as information, Blair Niles' "Black Haiti" and Vandercook's "Black Majesty" well repay your attention. Beyond these suggestions, the catalogue of any large public library can furnish you with a much more extended list of books about "The Magic Island" of the Caribbean.

But Haitian art is not so easily found in America, outside of New York, as are books about this enchanting island. In Manhattan, however, almost always there are Haitian pictures on view at The Haitian Art Center, 937 Third Avenue, near East 57th Street. From time to time there are special exhibits. Recently there was a fine showing of the paintings of the "Three B's of Haitian Painting," Benoit, Bazile and Biguad, contemporary primitives from the Centre d'Art of Port-au-Prince. The child-like simplicity of Haiti's modern primitives has been exciting art lovers in the East for a number of years now. And visitors to Haiti tell of the great art upsurge there among the often unlettered peasant people.

If you take a vacation in Haiti, of course you can see these painters themselves at work and buy their pictures on the spot. But those of us who can't afford a vacation right now — or are not fortunate enough to have great expectations from the current Defender Contest—may content ourselves by reading the poems of Haiti, the novels of Haiti, and the factual books about Haiti that are not difficult to find in the Public Libraries, or to purchase at the nearest bookshop. (Bookshops will order them for you if they are not in stock.) And if you visit New York this summer you can see at least a few examples of Haitian painting. Knowing Haiti in pictures and books is far better than not knowing Haiti at all. But a trip there is best.

DOCTOR'S ADVICE

DR. GEORGE W. LITTLE

The Sleep Counter

READER, who has a responsible position which necessitates his being alert and feeling [illegible] wants to know a good sleeping [illegible] he can take as he can [illegible] at night.

[illegible], I cannot enter [illegible] correspondence with readers [illegible] because [illegible] not the [illegible] of this [illegible] to prescribe for or [illegible] any individual. That [illegible] your physician [illegible] to do. [illegible] I [illegible] need a [illegible] to [illegible] all of [illegible] letters that [illegible].

Dr. Little

[illegible] all of [illegible] letters [illegible] by them I know what [illegible] me to discuss. So far [illegible] I will try to help [illegible] general information.

[illegible] IS DOING to [illegible] is no doubt [illegible] a lot of people in the [illegible] because of the sense of [illegible] bred by thoughts of [illegible], H-bombs, the cold war, [illegible], and, of course, the [illegible] on the ear or the [illegible] set.

[illegible] is a widespread use of [illegible] medicine today, and [illegible] there are some cases where [illegible] medicine is absolutely necessary, [illegible] many people without a [illegible] advice are taking medicine [illegible] this nature and doing [illegible] harm in mind and [illegible].

[illegible] you have been sleeping all [illegible] and then begin to find it [illegible] to go to sleep, take [illegible] of your situation. Are [illegible] a new job? Have you [illegible] increased responsibilities? What are the relations [illegible] you and the rest of the [illegible]? Is the room too hot or [illegible] cold? Has there been any [illegible] in your habits or the [illegible] routine of your life?

* * *

[illegible] THESE ARE a [illegible] the situations that can keep you awake. Many times an unsolved problem or a new worry can cause you to count whole flocks of sheep.

If you have a problem keeping you awake, sleeping medicine will not solve it. It is possible that the reader whose letter I mentioned might have taken on additional responsibilities at his work and he lies awake at night planning for the next day. This is a bad habit.

He should do his thinking before he goes to bed and then put it out of his mind until the next day.

* * *

NEXT WEEK

"Good Manners in the Sick Room"

NEWS IN TABLOID

31a - neg

By CLIFF MACKAY, AFRO Managing Editor

Let's Take a Peek at What Lies Ahead in 1950

Sat. 1-7-50 Baltimore Afro-American

This prediction business can be very risky. But since our little crystal ball has not advised us wrong too many times, we dare to make the following ten forecasts into the next twelve months: (1) Congress will not pass FEPC, but the Russians will get plenty of grist for their propaganda mill from the heated debate in the Senate. The Republicans will still pussyfoot on the issue; (2) While Congress just talks, President Truman will take positive action through the Executive Department to implement many points in his civil rights program; (3) Joe Louis will fight Ezzard Charles for the heavyweight championship by September, probably in Yankee Stadium; (4) The U. S. Supreme Court will rule favorably in the Henderson case, holding that segregation is discrimination. Two months later the justices will uphold Heman Sweatt of Texas in his contention that separate schools can never become equal schools;

(5) There will be three colored representatives in the House after the November elections and all will be Democrats. The third will come either from Cleveland or Philadelphia; (6) Lena Horne will at last publicly reveal that she is the wife of Lennie Hayton, the orchestra conductor; (7) Six major league baseball teams will have colored players in uniform by the end of the season. The Pittsburgh Pirates and the Detroit Tigers will join the Brooklyn Dodgers, Cleveland Indians, Boston Braves and N. Y. Giants; (8) All but three of the 13 teams in the newly organized National-American Pro football league will have tan players this fall. The three holdouts will be the Philadelphia Eagles, Green Bay Packers and the Washington Redskins. Even the Baltimore Colts will change the complexion of their previously lilywhite lineup; (9) The Russo-American "cold war" will gradually ease off and the first signs of a new policy assuring permanent peace will emerge;

(10) Walter White, despite denials by Board Chairman Louis T. Wright and Acting Secretary Roy Wilkins, will not return as NAACP secretary at the expiration of his leave in June, 1950. Our report last week that the secretarial job had been offered Dr. R. O. Lanier of Texas, brought prompt reply from Messrs. Wright and Wilkins. Said Dr. Wright: "The report is completely without foundation. No offer has been made to anyone for a position which is not now open." From Mr. Wilkins: "I note the item about our board offering the post of executive secretary to Dr. Lanier. I don't know what your source is, but whoever or whatever it is, you have been led out on a limb. Our board has made no offer of any kind of post to Dr. Lanier or anyone else." Well time alone will tell and there is really not much time before a decision must be reached. We still contend Walter White will not come back as NAACP secretary, although all indications are that he wants the position very much.

Dr. Wright

Turning elsewhere on the news front, it can be noted that argument on the celebrated Heman Sweatt case will be heard by the Supreme Court on Jan. 30. Thurgood Marshall, the brilliant NAACP special counsel, will be on the attack. Attorney-General Daniel Price of Texas will lead the defense seeking to keep the illusory "separate but equal" rule in Dixie schools. Brother Price, fearful that he is on weak ground, has called on all Southern States to band together in the bitter fight ahead. Counselor Marshall has an impressive array of backers on our side too. Scores of organizations have submitted briefs upholding Sweatt's contention that there can be no equality as long as there is segregation. . . Dr. Albert Einstein, the scientist, has contributed $50 to the NAACP. . . And while still on this organization, word has come that Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has changed her mind. After first turning in her resignation, she has now consented to complete her present term which expires Dec. 31, 1950. She has been a member since 1945. . . The NAACP Bulletin, heretofore published quarterly, has been discontinued for economy reasons. . . The National Civil Rights Mobilization, set for Washington Jan. 15-17, has politicians of both parties worried. It's timed just right to pressure wavering Senators during the FEPC debate.

Mr. Marshall

AME Bishop A. J. Allen of Cleveland has been named a member of the Ohio Sesqui-Centennial Commission for a six-year term. The appointment was by Gov. Frank Lausche. . . President Truman has received a cable from Virgin Islanders urging the appointment of Acting Governor Morris de Castro as Governor. . . Seven persons are under arrest as leaders of a plot to assassinate President Dumarsais Estime of Haiti. . . Although it was done under pressure, Queen Juliana of the Netherlands finally signed documents giving independence to the 77,000,000 people of Indonesia. . . If you were a prisoner of war you can collect $1 for every day you were held. Claim blanks can be secured from any regional Veterans' Administration office. When filled out, the forms should be sent to the War Claims Commission, Washington 25, D.C. Survivors can also get the money under the War Claims Act of 1948. Better check on this. . . State laws which prevent racial intermarriage violate the law of God, contends Joseph A. Breig of Cleveland in the Universe Bulletin, Catholic organ. "The right to marry and found a family is an inalienable right of normal men and women, with which no government should unreasonable interfere," he writes.

Bishop Allen

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, chairman, sociology department, Howard University, has been made chairman of a United Nations committee empowered to work out a definition of race in the modern world. Research in race relations will be conducted throughout the world. Representatives from India, France, New Zealand, Mexico, Brazil and England are on the committee which held its first meeting in Paris. . . Look magazine doffs its hat to Judge William H. Hastie citing him for having "climbed to the highest position ever held by a man of his color in the Federal Government." . . . The brutality of Oakland, Calif., policemen towards minority groups is up for investigation Jan. 4-6. The California State Assembly Interim Committee on Crime and Correction will conduct the hearings, the first of their kind ever held in a major city. . . Christmas was not a very pleasant holiday to Thomas Brown, 70, Bronx, N.Y., elevator. His elevator became stalled between floors and his cries went unnoticed for 26 hours. He was hoarse when rescued. . . . Although there was a decline in 1949, tuberculosis led all other diseases as a cause of death. TB accounted for 60 per cent of all deaths in the U. S. last year.

Dr. Frazier

These Brothers Really Said It: "Quote and Unquote"

"As the former presiding bishop of the Alabama District of the AME church, I want to express my sincere appreciation for your timely and important Christmas message. Your appeal to fellow Alabamans to do more than talk about fellowship and brotherly love when it comes to the plight of my people is one of the most commendable statements to be made by a ranking executive of our nation. It is certainly in keeping with the teachings of Christianity and will do much to promote amity and goodwill among all peoples."—Bishop D. WARD NICHOLS, NYC, in a telegram to Alabama's Gov. James E. Folsom.

"Communism appeals to some colored people because they feel it is without racial prejudice, as opposed to other political parties in which there is plenty. I firmly believe that much of the tension and unrest of our times can be traced to a rebellion on the part of underprivileged minorities at the inconsistencies in the practical, every day application of American democracy. No good whatsoever can come from hiding the fact that these inconsistencies do exist"—M. C. CLARKE, Cleveland insurance executive, addressing the Inter-collegiate Federation of Newman Clubs.

Signs of Progress Gleaned From the Week's News

Dr. Kenneth A. M'Clane, NYC, has been appointed to the teaching staff of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, and to the attending staff of the Vanderbilt Clinic, Presbyterian Hospital in New York. A native of Cambridge, Mass., his wife is the former Genevieve D. Greene of Boston. They have a daughter, Adrienne, 12. . . Rudolph Trent has been chosen by the Boston City Council as one of three constables. . . William Evans, popular athlete, has been elected president of the senior class at Wilby High School, Waterbury, Conn. He plans to attend Hampton Institute after graduation. . . Dr. Edward Louis Grant has been appointed a member of the St. Louis, Mo., Board of Education. The appointment by Mayor Joseph M. Darst makes him the first of his race to accept this position. . . Because of his one-man Christmas basket campaign, Parks Carson, 56, has been given the Chicago politeness award.

Dr. M'Clane

Herbert L. Jackson, 43, has been elected president of the Malden, Mass., Common Council. . . Victor C. Byne of Roxbury, has been named to the Boston Street Commission. . . All literature sympathetic to the Klan has been banned from Peoria, Ill., schools by School Superintendent Melvin G. Davis. . . Dr. Theodore R. Gathings, NYC, has been named chief of the clinic of internal medicine at Bronx, N.Y. . . Hospital. . . The end of discrimination in the membership of all fraternities has been asked by the student council of Rutgers Law School, Newark, N.J. The vote was 15-14. . . Students of Harvard University have voted to end racial and religious discrimination in the membership of all college organizations. . . Bladen County, N.C., farmers with the purchase of 20 more, now own 28 registered Jersey bulls. The recent additions were made under the supervision of County Agent A. C. M'Clendon who bought the animals from the Biltmore Dairy Farms near Asheville. . . The Rev. H. L. B. Wilkins, who formerly pastored Nashville's First Baptist Church, is now enrolled in Meharry Medical College. He's a native of Washington, D.C.

The A. & P. Tea Co., has assured the N.Y. Urban League that no discrimination will be practiced in the selection of employees in the New York area. . . Douglas Anderson, 12-year-old Richmond shine boy, has collected ten silver dollars for one shine. Sam Crews, white, paid the amount when Anderson offered to shine his shoes without charge on Christmas Day. . Crews was disguised as a tramp at the time.

NEWS IN TABLOID

By CLIFF MACKAY, AFRO Managing Editor

Dixiecrats Certainly Can't Filibuster Dan Cupid

Dan Cupid gave the Dixiecrats something to wail and gnash their teeth over last week. In New York, smiling Billy Daniels, 32, sailed for the Caribbean with his new 22-year-old white wife. In Washington the tender romance between NAACP lobbyist Leslie Perry and cute Ruth Weyand, Government labor attorney, is bared. This proved that while they might play havoc with Truman's civil rights program, the Dixiecrats have no control over who shall be victims of Dan Cupid's darts. Meantime, Mrs. Carl Braun, of Lowell, Mass., should not be puzzled over the whiteness of Billy Daniels's three children. They are white. They are not Daniels's children. They're his stepchildren. The mother of the youngsters, who was white, committed suicide in Billy's New York apartment in 1946. She had divorced her first husband and father of the youngsters, a white man, to become Daniels's wife. Mrs. Braun had been quoted as saying her belief that Billy was the father of the youngsters formed her only objection to the marriage. Now that she knows he is not, everybody should be happy.

Billy Daniels

Billy, talking by long distance ship-to-shore phone aboard the S. S. Italia, revealed that it was "love at first sight." He met her at a television broadcast three years before. She was engaged to a young Lawrence, Mass., heir to $500,000. But she gave the ring back after Dan Cupid got in his licks. Mrs. Braun, contacted by the AFRO in Lowell, Mass., said tersely, "no comment." When Billy returns from his honeymoon, his old job at New York's Park Avenue Restaurant still awaits him. The Four Tunes are holding down the spot while he is away. The couple will live in Billy's West End Ave. apartment until their new home is completed in White Plains, N.Y. "We'll get along okay," insists Billy.

Not satisfied with having thrown a bombshell by her 'love theft' suit for $50,000, Mrs. Olive Perry, divorced wife of the NAACP lobbyist, may go a step further. Her lawyer, John J. O'Brien, now indicates he will ask a court order for a blood test to determine the paternity of Perry Weyand, 16-months old son of Ruth Weyand, defendant in the suit. Mrs. Perry insists her ex-husband is the father. Neighbors say Miss Weyand adopted the infant. Perry has refused comment, except to say that his wife secured a Virgin Islands' divorce last August and the suit came as a complete surprise. There is no indication that Miss Weyand will be asked to resign her $9,000-a-year post as assistant general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board. Newsmen in Washington insist the United Press Washington correspondent might do well to resign. Obviously trying to please the Dixiecrats, his story of the affair was loaded with political overtones, as if politics had anything to do with love. To the UP writer, the important fact about Perry is that he is a supporter of "Truman's civil rights program." Miss Weyand, he snidely hints, might be a Communist, because she has "a colored secretary and belongs to the National Lawyers Guild." Such tripe for guys who pose as journalists.

Miss Weyand

And speaking of politics, it is noted that Maceo Sloan of Philadelphia, has been appointed to the national platform committee of the Young Republican National Federation. This is the first time the Republicans have made such a step. . . But in Baltimore they scheduled a Lincoln Day Dinner at a downtown hotel, knowing in advance, that colored Republicans will not be welcomed. Such stupidity. . . Out Chicago way the Republicans are grooming the Rev. Archibald J. Carey, son of the late AME bishop, to oppose William L. Dawson for the First District Congressional seat. Dawson will be seeking his fourth term. Chicago Republicans also want a colored Superior court judge. The three leading lawyers being considered for the candidacy are J. Ernest Wilkins, Bindley Cyrus and C. Francis Stratford. Look for Cyrus to win out.

Mr. Sloan

On the civil rights front, the scorecard of the Civil Rights Congress shows five already lynched in 1950. Counted were the three children in Mississippi, Sonny and Nell Harris and Mary McAtee; Samuel Taylor, axed to death near Powhatan, Va., and George West, shot down in a tavern in New York City. . . Back to that Mississippi case. It's a safe bet that none of the three white assassins will die in the electric chair for their foul crime. . . Five members of the "Trenton Six" have retained O. John Rogge, former assistant U. S. Attorney General, as their defense counsel. Old Judge Charley Hutchinson, who will preside over the new trial, has already ruled Rogge can't practice in his court. . . As was expected, the Alabama Court of Appeals, has upheld the 180-day jail sentence and fine given Sen. Glen Taylor (D. Idaho). Taylor went in the "colored" door of a colored church, instead of the police-patroled "white." The case now goes to the Alabama Supreme Court and will probably have to be decided in the U.S. Supreme Court.

While in Alabama, it might be well to record that Birmingham had to pay $709 for losing that zoning fight. The price of segregation gets higher and higher. . . William E. Secor, one of the Peekskill rioters, has been named a policeman by Yorktown Heights, N.Y. Secor was stabbed during the scuffle at the Robeson concert. . . The Army, which has been playing a "cat and mouse" game with Truman's no-segregation order, now announces that it at last has a plan. Don't hope for too much. . . Joe Louis ends his exhibition tour Jan. 20 with a four-rounder against Andy Walker in San Francisco. . . The Edward J. Neil Memorial Plaque for 1949 has been awarded Heavyweight Champion Ezzard Charles. . . The 11 convicted Communists, who are paying off their fines of $10,000 each on the installment plan, cut the balance by another $20,000. Nobody knows the source of the 20 G's. . . There are two kinds of prejudice in America, according to a new book, "Dynamics of Prejudice." Those who hate Jews want to pull them down from their present status. Those who hate colored people want to keep them from rising.

These Brothers Really Said It: "Quote and Unquote"

"The Dodgers can grab their second straight pennant if Jackie Robinson is not traded. Lose him and we lose the whole team. He's a wonderful fellow. He and Pewee Reese really held the Dodger team together last year. If Jackie is traded, we might as well give up."—DON NEWCOMBE, rookie pitching ace of the Brooklyn Dodgers.

"The South is doing and will do more towards a just and human solution of its domestic problems of interracial relationships if left to its own sense of fair play. It is the opinion of many colored people in the South that too much interference by 'outsiders' who know very little of the situation down here can only serve to retard the achievement of better human relationships."—W. H. LEWIS of Meridian, Miss., hailed by white newspapers as a "brilliant colored leader."

"The race problem is the greatest social problem of our region and of our age. Delay, procrastination and timidity will not solve it any more than will violence, bitterness and conflict. We must turn back to the true Southern traditions of Washington, Jefferson and Mason."—PAUL D. WILLIAMS, of Richmond, president, Southern Regional Council.

Signs of Progress Gleaned From the Week's News

The Rev. Maurice A. Dawkins has been elected minister of education of the Community Church of New York, the first to be elected to the church's staff in its 125 years. He's 28. . . Danville, Va., will soon have its first branch library. A new building has been converted for library use. . . Memphis is scheduled to have its first colored firemen. Six have filed applications for the examinations to be held Jan. 21. . . Dr. Rudy Van Lier of Boston has been named professor of history and ethnology at Univ. of Leyden in Holland. . . The St. Louis County Medical Society has voted 90-6 to delete the word "white" from its constitutional provision on membership qualifications. The same group on Dec. 14 voted 35-25 to keep its membership lilywhite. . . Two colored doctors have been named to the staff of Chicago's Michael Reese Hospital. Those appointed to the Jewish institution were Dr. William E. Cunningham, who got his medicine at Howard, and Dr. Harvey J. Whitfield, a Meharry and University of Pennsylvania graduate.

Rev. Dawkins

A Quick Glimpse Over the Educational World

The University of Texas reluctantly is following in the footsteps of the University of Oklahoma. Its president, Dr. T. S. Painter, announces colored students would be admitted to graduate study. The announcement had reservations. The new students would have to study "off the main campus" but they would have access to the library on the campus. W. Aster Kirk, professor at Tillotson College, whose application, President Painter had accepted, isn't sure this arrangement would be satisfactory. He hints he might refuse the offer and go to court, which is the very thing Brother Painter wants to prevent. . . Yale University has given its first annual Public Service Award to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche. . . Walter White spoke on "Minorities in a Free Society" at Amherst College. His was the first in a series of Harlan Fiske Stone Memorial lectures. . . William O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland Call-Post, has been named to the board of Wilberforce State College.

Discrimination on the college campus will be the key theme of the National Student Association, the executive committee announces. The annual session has been set for the University of Michigan Aug. 24—Sept. 1. . . John C. Eastwood of Kansas City, Mo., will teach photography and engraving at the Lincoln (Mo.) School of Journalism. . . Eight staff members of the Liberian Department of State will take the Foreign Service Training course in Washington. . . Plans have been completed for the reunion of the Tuskegee Class of '30 in April, President Patterson discloses. . . Dr. R. M. Ambedkar, Indian minister of law, has been invited to speak at Fisk University. . . Almost a half million World War II veterans have completed their grade school education under the GI Bill of Rights. . . Mississippi's Gov. Fielding Wright told the legislature new taxes are necessary if teacher's salaries are to be equalized.

NEWS IN TABLOID

By CLIFF MACKAY, AFRO Managing Editor

Some Unanswered Questions About That White Case

Several unanswered questions continue to plague the minds of many NAACP members, including yours truly. Did the board of directors in June, 1949, have all the facts before it when it voted Walter White that year's leave of absence with pay? Mr. White tendered his resignation at that meeting. But sympathetic board members rejected it. Were they of the impression that Mr. White was resigning because of poor health, specifically a bad heart? If so, were or were they not surprised a month later, to find Mr. White had divorced his spouse of 26 years, acquired another, and embarked on a strenuous around the world lecture tour and honeymoon? If the board members had known all of Mr. White's plans, would they have not willingly accepted his proffered resignation? All of which comes to mind with receipt of word that the board has extended Mr. White's leave until June, 1950 at full pay. While last week's New York session was very warm, it will be considered cold in comparison to what will happen when Brother White appears in June to reclaim his old job as executive secretary. Then the fur will really fly. This writer still predicts that when the air is cleared Mr. White will no longer be with the NAACP.

Walter White

And while on the NAACP, the Legal Defense and Educational Fund has been made $5000 richer by the Lessing J. Rosenwald Foundation. In addition, our largest protest organization has been given 45 shares of Paramount Pictures, Inc., stock valued at $1000. This comes from William Wyler. Mrs. Raymond V. Ingersoll has presented the organization three common stock shares of the Gaylord Container Corp. valued at $600. Not a bad week's work. . . . The first life membership ever awarded by the Portland, Ore., Urban League has gone to Miss Frankie Baker, 73, a charter member. She kept up her dues for four years out of limited finances received from old age assistance. A resident of Portland for 30 years, she went West originally from St. Louis by way of Omaha.

Lucio Baschuk, multi-millionaire, Russian-born importer, has been enjoined from spending any of his money by his comely wife, Mildred Davenport, better known to movie-goers as Acquanetta. She has filed suit for divorce and seeks half of his estimated $5 million fortune. Mildred once reigned as "Miss West Virginia State" and went to Hollywod from her native Philadelphia. . . . Federal Judge Sam M. Driver of Pasco, Washington, refused to dismiss Hazel Scott's $50,000 suit. The action is against restaurant owners, who refused her service while she was making a concert appearance in the West. Willard Roe, professor of law at Gonzaga University, represents the famed pianist. . . . The trial of Charlie Cole is scheduled for Chicago Jan. 16. He's charged with the murder of his former Pershing Hotel partner, Winston Howard. The case has been postponed three times. Sought now is a cute Cuban witness, Gloria Garcia, 28, said to be in New York.

Acquanetta

Be careful about taking those cold prevention pills, doctors warn. Called anti-histamine, the tablets can be dangerous. Anyone who plans to drive an automobile or work around machinery should leave them alone. In many instances, the tablets will leave you groggy. In England, doctors have urged the Government to label them poison and restrict their sale only to those having doctor's prescriptions. Several British children have died as the result of mistaking the sugar-coated tablets for candy. . . . Tuberculosis is no longer a disease of youth. Half of the deaths now come at ages over 46, a pamphlet, "TB—the Killer Cornered" points out, Alton L. Blakeslee, author of the booklet, reveals that the TB death rate has been cut from 194 out of every 100,000 in 1900 to only 30 out of 100,000 in 1948. You can get the book by sending 20c to the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 22 E. 38th St., NYC, 16.

NEWS IN TABLOID

By CLIFF MACKAY, AFRO Managing Editor

Names Continue to Highlight the Week's News

Names always make the most interesting news. Take Nina Mae M'Kinney for instance. The little girl who flashed to fame 19 years ago in the grandpa of all-colored films, "Hallelujah" and made a recent comeback in "Pinky" is in New York. Our Big City correspondent, Jimmy Hicks reveals that at 36, Nina is going to have a baby. She expects to enter the hospital this week and hopes it will be a boy. Civil Engineer Husband Frank B. Mickey of Los Angeles has his fingers crossed for a girl . . . A little Ink Spot is on the way for Billy Kenny. Kenny's Canadian bride of last summer has a daughter by a previous marriage . . . President and Mrs. William V. Tubman of Liberia are expecting a little Tubman, sometime in May . . . The latest addition to the Robinson family still has no name because of a difference of opinion. Jackie wants his new daughter named after her mother, but wife, Rachel, has other ideas. Jackie's mother, Mrs. Mallie Robinson, got her wish. She wanted a girl, saying "there are too many boys in the family already." Rachel also wanted a girl and little Jackie Jr., ha dalready demanded a sister. Jackie was non-committal as he passed out El Productos along W. 135th St., near Seventh Ave., in NYC.

Mrs. Mickey

Names and more names. J. Finley Wilson, best known as "The Grand" to the thousands of his Elk followers is back in the Mayo Clinic again. That foot accident of seven years ago, has developed into complications. The boys are again talking about who will take over should Brother Wilson have to retire. Next in line is Joseph A. Brown of NYC, but many feel that Brown wouldn't want it. No. 3 in rank is Herbert E. Jones of Washington and No. 4, Robert H. Johnson of Philadelphia. The board of trustees would have the job of naming a temporary grand exalted ruler until an election could be held . . . Mildred Davenport, better known as Acquanetta, lost the opening round of her fight to get half of her Russian-born husband's $5 million fortune. A Los Angeles judge has ruled that her marriage in Mexico was not recorded legally. Acquanetta sought $2,500 a month alimony and support for her son, Serge, aged 3. The divorce suit has yet to be tried.

Mr. Wilson

Deaths lamented: Dr. George H. (Sparky) Adams, 49, in Washington; Dr. Carl G. Roberts, 63, in Chicago, Ill.; Albon L. Holsey, 67, assistant president Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Deaths unlamented: Dr. James A. Colescott, 53, former imperial wizard, Ku Klux Klan, at Coral Gables, Fla. . . . Honored: Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, has been elected vice president of the American Political Science Association. Dr. Frederick Pollock of the University of Michigan is president. . . Wanted: H. Jose Smarts, 35, charged with gypping house-hungry Californians out of $10,000, has been arrested in NYC. He is fighting return to the Coast . . . How it turned out: The Minnesota National Guard now has three colored members accepted on a non-segregated basis. They are Theodore Freeze, D. H. Crushon and Alfred E. Stewart. Stewart served six years in the Army during World War II, holding the rank of warrant officer, junior grade, at the time of his retirement. Freeze and Crushon have no previous military experience.

Let's look at science. The American Automobile Association is warning motorists not to take any of those cold preventive pills if they plan to drive. They make you feel drugged . . . Dr. Wilhelm Witzel of Frankfurt, Germany, says he can not tell the sex of unborn children. He has found that the eyeballs of pregnant women change, according to the sex of the child they are carrying. The iris contracts if it's a boy, expands if it's a girl . . . Heart diseases take a greater toll than cancer, accidents, kidney disease, pneumonia and tuberculosis combined. Doctors say there are five ways to make your heart beat longer. 1. Eat in moderation; 2. Don't run if you can walk; 3. If you can't cut it out, cut down on smoking; 4. Don't neglect infections, and 5. Try to avoid worry . . . Reported cases of measles increased from 3,044 to 4,946 during the week. In Michigan the jump was from 167 to 1,336 cases. New Jersey now has 528 cases compared to 398 the week before. Virginia showed a decrease of 124 cases of influenza during the same period.

Pfc. Perry R. Henderson, brother of Miss Mildred Pinkney of Clinton, Md., is training to be an Air Force technician at Ft. Francis E. Warren in Wyoming. . . . Veterans planning to resume GI Bill training or to change schools or courses in the spring term should contact the Veterans Administration early. Otherwise there might be a delay in receiving an okay on their plans . . . More than 2,000 colored Memphians, most of them veterans, have applied for examination as city firemen. City officials are worried . . . Student dietitians are needed for veterans hospitals. The jobs start at $1,470 . . . X-ray technicians, janitorial laborers, housekeeping aids, photographers, printer's assistants, social workers, telephone operators, clerks, guards, messengers, librarians, proofreading clerks, information specialists and substitute postal transportation clerks are all needed by the U.S. Government. Send your letters to the U.S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, 25, D.C.

Pfc. Henderson

We March Forward on a Wide Civil Rights Front

That hated coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans in the House of Representatives was beaten back Friday. The effort to restore old pigeon-holing powers to the Rules Committee was defeated 236 to 183. This clears the path for action on FEPC. It might be interesting to check that list of 98 Republicans who voted with the Dixiecrats. You can mark them down right now as your enemies . . . No swimming pools in Pennsylvania can bar persons because of race. That was the ruling of Superior Judge Dithrich in Philadelphia. It was a significant victory . . . More pressure is being put on the biased American Bowling Congress. N.Y. State's attorney, Gen. Nathaniel L. Goldstein, has begun proceedings banning all activities of the organization in New York . . . A pledge that FEPC would be brought before the Senate before March 1 has been made by Majority Leader Scott W. Lucas (Dem., Ill.). He's not too optimistic that a filibuster can be broken.

If you're interested in civil rights, you should read the booklet, "Freedom Is Everybody's Job" by George W. Crockett Jr. It was his summation in the trial of the 11 Communist leaders. You can get a copy for a dime by writing the National Non-partisan Committee, 23 W. 26th St., NYC, 10. . . Republicans and Dixiecrats have a lot in common believe Felix Herbert and Mrs. Barion F. Yatman, Rhode Island members of the Republican National Committee. They called for a merger in a letter to GOP National Chairman Guy G. Gabrielson . . . Dixiecrats Presidential Candidate J. Strom Thurmond has not been invited to attend the Southern Democratic rally in Raleigh, Jan. 28 . . . Roy F. Parker, member of the Alabama Democratic executive committee wants to bar all candidates in that State who supported the election of President Truman. "It's too silly to talk about," said Alabama Gov. James E. Folsom, a Truman supporter.

Mr. Crockett

Californians are laying the groundwork for the election of a colored Congressman, the Rev. J. Raymond Henderson of Los Angeles is

chairman of the committee . . . The Washington (N.C.) County board of education is worried. Suit has been filed by colored children seeking schools equal to those enjoyed by whites . . . Maryland with 1076 had more delegates than any other State at the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization. New York had 1015 . . . Something new has been added. Tuskegee is getting a white-owned, colored staffed newspaper, the Tuskegee Herald. Mrs. Edith Washington, daughter-in-law of Booker T., has been named editor. Harold Fisher, white, publisher of the Tuskegee News, white weekly, is owner. The new paper will have no editorial policy. Observers believe it is designed to cut the circulation of militant national newspapers in the Tuskegee area. . . The Greenville American is the name of a new newspaper at Greenville, S.C.

A Quick Glimpse Over the Educational World

Dr. Charles L. Hill, president of Wilberforce (AME) University, left Jan. 20, for Hamilton, Bermuda. He is scheduled for a lecture tour before church, civic and professional groups. Mrs. Hill accompanied him . . . Coconuts are paying the tuition of Michael Udo Akpan at the University of Notre Dame. His clan council in Nigeria donated one month's crop of coconuts to send him to college. He'll teach in Nigeria upon graduation . . . Dr. Emory Ross has been elected president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund board of trustees . . . The annual winter clinic for N.C. high school bands will be held Jan. 27 at A. and T. College, Greensboro . . Seven Hampton students will participate in the exchange program for 1950. Going to Grinnell College, Iowa, will be Lillian R. Robinson, Pittsburgh; Lillian E. Nell, Columbia, S.C., and Alfred V. Calloway, Louisville. Oberlin College will get Julia C. Jenkins, N. Brentwood, Md.; and James E. House Jr., Detroit. Denison University, Granville, Ohio, will accept Joseph L. Lewis, Brooklyn, and Alfred L. Spencer, Roanoke, Va. Grinnell, Oberlin and Denison are sending a like number of students to Hampton.

Dr. Hill

Segregated education can never be equal education, a committee of 188 law professors has told the Supreme Court. The brief was in support of the Heman W. Sweatt case against the University of Texas . . . The University of Florida, fearful of the Supreme Court's ruling in the Sweatt case, has already made arrangements to allow registration of colored students on a "temporary basis." . . . President Robert P. Daniel has delivered his last address before Shaw University students. He leaves Jan. 28, to become president of Virginia State College . . . President Horace M. Bond of Lincoln (Pa.) University has been named to the Pennsylvania Regional Advisory Council of the National Student Association . . . Dr. Joseph S. Himes of N.C. State College, has been named to the nominating committee of the Southern Sociological Society which meets in Biloxi, Miss., in April.

THE WEEK'S NEWS IN TABLOID

By CLIFF MACKAY, AFRO Managing Editor

A New and Better Hampton Develops Under Moron

Hampton Institute is definitely going places. Credit its brilliant new president, Alonzo Moron, for the needed changes. Announced this week, four revolutionary steps are in store for students of the future. They are: (1) The ending of summer graduate sessions; (2) The inauguration of a general course which all freshmen will be required to take; (3) The requiring of students to spend their senior year off the campus as internes; and (4) The ending of 3-year diploma courses. All courses beginning with 1952 will be on the college level. All of which means that Hampton will become a college in every sense of the word. No longer will it just train tradesmen. Emphasis will be placed on developing teachers of vocational subjects. Further, no longer will Hampton be a "colored" school; its doors will be open to all students without regard to race. Time, indeed, marches on. When, one wonders, will Tuskegee follow in Mother Hampton's footsteps?

President Moron

Discrimination in education will get a thorough airing in Atlanta on April 8. A south-wide conference has been called at Atlanta U., when college professors and administrators of both races will sit down to discuss the issue. Dr. E. Franklin Frazier of Howard U., is to be the keynote speaker. . . . Examinations for those who wish to teach in Baltimore junior and senior high schools will be held April 20-21 at Douglass High School. Specialists in French, Spanish, German, mechanical drawing and music, both vocal and instrumental are needed. Write Edwin Stein, director of personnel, 3 E. 25th St., Baltimore 18, Md. . . . Tests have indicated that grades of pupils drop as much as 15 per cent after TV sets are installed in their homes. . . .The Mississippi Legislature has voted $42 millions to equalize white and colored schools. . . . The ideal class is 25 pupils, a survey of teachers by the U. S. Office of Education, has revealed. A class of 34 to 36 pupils is considered too large. . . . James E. Ragland of White Hall, Va., has been awarded a diploma by the National Radio Institute, Washington.

Director Forrester B. Washington of the Atlanta U. School of Social Work set a precedent. He was principal speaker before a joint meeting of the Community Council, Urban League and American Association of Social Workers in Oklahoma City. . . . You can scratch Delaware State and Sam Huston off that list of schools seeking presidents. Dr. Oscar J. Chapman of Morgan has been given the nod for the Delaware job. The Rev. Robert F. Harrington will be inaugurated April 11 as president of Sam Huston in Austin, Texas. Schools still without top administrators are S. C. State College, Claflin and Shaw University. . . . Financing a college education will no longer be a problem if one banker's idea is adopted. Murray Shields, vice president of the Bank of the Manhattan Co., suggests establishment of a scholarship fund making loans at a low rate of interest. Any high school graduate would be eligible to get needed money under the plan. . . . The employment outlook for 1950 engineering graduates is not so bright. That's what the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics reports.

Dr. Washington

There's Good News From Many Fronts This Week

My old Atlanta friend, W. H. (Chief) Aiken has done it again He has completed plans for erection of two apartment projects which will cost more than one and a half million dollars. The buildings designed to house 213 families, will be modern in every respect, with push-button elevator service. And best of all, they will be sponsored, built and owned by our people. "Chief," the nation's no. 1 foe of the housing shortage, has erected more than 1,000 homes. . . . Topping the annual Virgin Islands honors list is Alonzo G. Moron, president of Hampton Institute. The list is issued by the Professional League of Virgin Islanders in NYC. . . . Soldier of the week at Kitzingen Germany, is Pfc. Robert A. Scott of New York. . . . Mrs. Bernice I. Williamson, real estate dealer, was one of four new registrars elected by the Durham (N.C.) County Board of Elections. . . . James Watson, 38, has been appointed a city solicitor in Windsor, Canada. There are less than 5,000 colored people in Windsor's population of 105,311.

"Chief" Aiken

Look Magazine placed Charlie Cooper, Duquesne's famed cageman, on its All-American basketball team. Sherman White of Long Island U., made the second team. . . . Dr. Daniel B. Taylor, chief of the medical staff of Mercy-Douglass hospital, Philadelphia, has been named a diplomat in the American Board of Urology. . . . Dr. Henry R. Butler, former Boston and Atlanta heart specialist, was the first of his race to be admitted as an associate staff member of the Good Samaritan Hospital, Los Angeles. . . . Miss Mildred Williams of Jersey City, has been hired in the bookkeeping department of the Central Hanover Bank and Trust Co., NYC. . . . 19-year-old Elaine Malbin of Forest Hills, N.Y., made her operatic debut via television. She sang the role of Violetta in La Traviata with Lawrence Tibbett as Germont. . . . The financial setup and operation of the N. C. Mutual Life Insurance Co., drew words of praise from Investor's Reader, key magazine for investors on stock exchanges. . . . The Portland (Ore.) city council has approved an ordinance setting up a permananent commission on ilntergroup relations.

Reader's Digest has belatedly discovered that Dr. Ralph J. Bunche is "an extraordinarily likeable man." Irwin Ross does the pen portrait in the April issue. . . . The Federal Housing Administration during the first two months of 1950, insured more mortgages on housing available to colored people than during the entire calendar year of 1949. . . . The Regional School plan got a kick in the teeth at the hands of the Kentucky Legislature. The Ky. Senate made it plain no student could be forced to attend an out-of-State school, if the same course were available in any State-supported school. Spelled out, the resolution said: "Kentucky shall not erect, acquire, develop nor maintain in any manner any educational institutions within its borders to which Negroes will not be admitted on an equal basis with other races". . . . Oliver Eubanks, Lincoln (Mo.) University senior, has received a certificate and letter of recognition from the National Urban League for his sculpture work exhibited at the Missouri State Fair.

Cong. Walter White (D. N.Y.) Not Impossible

NAACP Secretary Walter White is being groomed to oppose the Rev. A. Clayton Powell for his Congressional seat in the Democratic primary. White thus far is non-committal. Tammany Hall has already placed its blessings on Brother White, not being overly fond of the tempestuous Mr. Powell. . . . Dr. Ralph J. Bunche is the principal speaker at the national convention of the Americans for Democratic Action on March 31-April 2. The Shoreham Hotel, Washington, is the scene of the meeting. . . . Fear that Hawaii may send two of its darker citizens to the Senate, will probably block Senate action on the measure to admit the territory to Statehood. Whites are in the minority in this U.S. possession. . . . Hobson Reynolds has been given the $7,500 a year job as referee for the Workmen's Compensation board by Gov. James H. Duff of Pennsylvania. Claude B. Haines of Pittsburgh got a similar job the week before. . . . William McCoy Jr., Portland Univ., senior, has filed for Democratic nomination as State representative from Multnomah

Dr. Bunche

County, Washington.

Checking Up on a Wide Variety of Subjects

There are some who believe that there's more behind the TV banning of Robeson than meets the eye. Robeson, they argue, was just a convenient excuse. NBC really wanted to keep the discussion of "The Negro in Politics" off the air. Paul is to be featured in concert at New York's Manhattan Center on March 28. The 40 who formed a defense line during the Peekskill concert will be present. A picket line was thrown around the NBC building in New York. Called by the Harlem Trade Union, the marchers bore signs reading, "Let Robeson Speak" . . . . Katherine Dunham, presently on tour in Italy, has had to add more clothes to her dancers. It seems to Catholics that the bare brown skin did not conform to the Holy Year spirit. . . . There are 362,427 colored Catholics in the U.S. and more are embracing Catholicism every day, according to Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith, Rome. . . . Catholics spent $3 and one half million in Alabama during the past 22 years, winning new converts. Yet there are only 65,000 Catholics in the State, of which less than 8,000 are colored.

Biggest lie of the year is told in Jack Lait's new book, "Chicago Confidential." He says it is "as much as a white man's life is worth to be abroad in the 14 square miles populated by colored people on Chicago's Southside." And somebody will believe it, too. . . . Langston Hughes has converted his friend "Simple" into a book. Called "Simple Speaks His Mind," it will be off the presses April 14. . . . William Henry Huff, the Chicago peonage lawyer, has found time to write a book of verse. Entitled, "Sowing and Reaping," it sells for $2.50. . . . If you are a record fan, pick up on the re-issue of "I Ain't Got Nobody" by the Art Tatum Trio. It's backed up by "Cocktails for Two" Besides the great Art on the 88, you'll hear Slam Stewart on bass and Tiny Grimes on guitar. Be-bop was nothing like this.

While the "cold" war dips its icy fingers into the inner workings of the NAACP high command, one stalwart prepares to make the most important argument of his life. He's Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall. On April 3, he will stand before the U.S. Supreme Court and attempt to smash with one terrific blow the whole hateful system of segregated schools as practiced in 13 Southern States. Specifically, two cases will be before the high court. The Herman Sweatt case seeks to open the University of Texas to all citizens, and the G. A. McLaurin case would do the same thing at the University of Oklahoma. But the important thing is the line of attack. To uphold Mr. Marshall, the court must in substance say, the whole jim crow school setup is wrong. That's what has the Dixiecrats frightened. And when the U.S Government stepped in on Mr. Marshall's side, the South tore its hair and gnashed its teeth. After the wailing was over, they went to work and filed a brief in the name of 11 of the jim crow States, trying to uphold their false "separate, but equal" position. Look for the fur to fly on April 3.

Mr. Marshall

The British Labor Government was forced to back down on its stiff-necked position over Seretse Khama. Now the African chieftain, will be permitted to be at his white wife's side when their first child is born in Africa. After that, though, all three of them must get out for at least five years. This is clearly concession to South Africa's white supremacists. . . . U. S. Judge J. Waties Waring, undisturbed by things going on back in S.C., speaks in Chicago March 29. His topic, "The Birth of a New South." In Columbia, S.C., the State House of Representatives fights a desperate rear-guard action to prop up the old South. Members voted $10,000 to finance proposed impeachment proceedings against Judge Waring. The charge: He is creating a revolution through his liberal interpretation of the Constitution. You better vote more than $10,000, boys!

One wag has already written the Rev. James E. Smith, asking where he buys his goat glands. The former Washington undertaker, at 101, reveals that he is the father of twin girls born 16 months ago. He and his 37-year-old wife are also parents of four sons. . . . Those with bad hair can take hope. A Swiss firm, after many experiments on Gold Coast, African subjects, has developed a product which will keep your hair straight for life. The new "conk" is a wow, is the word from Zurich. . . . Mrs. Indiana Donaldson of Chicago, who observed her 101st birthday, attributes her long life to clean living.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

It Takes Real Discipline And No Mean Strength To Be Civic-Minded in Harlem

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

TO THE non-New Yorker, the anonymity of the Harlem community is an enigma. In a sense, Harlem is not a community at all, but only a geographical designation.

It has no common characteristic beyond race, no unity, no leadership, and its people, no sense of belonging.

Miss McKenzie

Harlem has problems, though, of the very sort that evoke unity and leadership in most towns and cities, North and South. Everyone knows about Harlem's problems, just as the whole nation and the world know about Washington's jim crow.

Harlem could do something about its problems. Its people have every political, economic, social and intellectual weapon at their disposal. Evidently they just hole up in their apartments and don't bother.

* * *

IF YOU LIVE in Harlem, you can always go downtown, to work and to play. While you are in Harlem, you are a Negro in a Negro world. When you go downtown, you are a New Yorker, and this is your only label.

When the pressures are off you as an individual, you have lost your motivation. Theoretically, at least, New York is full of choices—theatres, parks, galleries, beaches, schools.

It makes no differences if Harlem has no choices; you can choose to leave it except as a place to sleep, or, if this proves to be too inconvenient, then altogether.

* * *

THE INDIVIDUAL CAN surely go, but can everybody in Harlem choose another place? Obviously not. What about those who remain and who have the attributes of leadership? Does the fact that escape is as near as the closest subway entrance rob them of a sense of duty and of relatedness to their fellowman?

Harlem seems to stand for the principal that self-preservation is the first law of leadership. He who is safe need not bother himself.

Organizations lead a sickly life in Harlem. People who battle subways all day are too tired to come to meetings. To take leave of an apartment is much more bother than walking out of the front door of a house. And, if you have taken a house on Long Island, you could soon feel that what goes on or doesn't go on in Harlem is none of your business.

* * *

DURING THE RECENT FEPC mobilization in Washington, people began to hear about the alleged recently increased Communist infiltration in the New York chapter of the NAACP. Civic organizations in other cities haven't had the problem of new Communist activity on any scale for the past five years.

Such a success in New York might be said to be the result of the failure of others to occupy the field. It takes real discipline and no mean strength to be civic-minded in Harlem.

Harlem is a sort of headless monster. It has nearly a half-million people and you can count its leadership on your two hands.

* * *

THIS MAY BE good or bad, depending upon your point of view. Good, in the sense that Negroes in New York are free enough to identify themselves in terms of their interests and professions rather than by their race.

Bad, that despite this measure of freedom and human dignity they still live in a ghetto and take so little interest in its welfare or eradication.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

We Mustn't Forget Another Staunch and Able Friend, the American Jewish Congress

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

IN PAYING tribute for our recent successes in the Supreme Court—to Alpha Phi Alpha for sponsoring the Henderson case and to the NAACP for the McLaurin and Sweatt cases—we must not forget another staunch and able friend, namely, the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress.

Miss McKenz

CLSA was set up as a division of the American Jewish Congress in November, 1945. Its present and only director since its inception is Will Maslow, who was formerly Director of Field Operations of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

The staff in the New York office includes seven lawyers and two sociologists. During 1949, they filed twenty-two briefs amicus curiae in various civil rights cases in Federal and state courts.

* * *

CLSA ALSO HAS at least one lawyer attached to local branches of the American Jewish Congress in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and Washington.

Just as there is a similarity between the CLSA and the legal staff of the NAACP, the parent organizations are also comparable. AJC is, however, organizationally more complex. It has, for example, forty chapters in New York City alone, twenty in Philadelphia and fifteen in Los Angeles. **There is a separate commission on community interrelations and a division on women's activities.**

AJC does not depend only upon membership fees and direct contributions as does the NAACP, but also receives allocations from the various Jewish community funds.

* * *

CLSA DOES MUCH more than appear as friend of the court. Its director was chief counsel in the Stuyvesant Town litigation. The main interest and the basic expertise of the Commission is the protection of religious freedom, just as NAACP's top job is establishing first class citizenship for Negro Americans and the American Civil Liberties Union safeguards our civil liberties.

FEPC is the next major concern of CLSA. It keeps an up-to-date analysis of all state FEPC legislation and contributes to the fight for a Federal act. AJC, itself, is an educa**tional, not a political, organization and is tax-exempt. CLSA recognizes the special competence of the ACLU in defending political freedom, but provides supplementary assistance, as in the recent New Jersey loyalty case.**

It plays the same role with the NAACP and the American Council on Human Rights.

* * *

ANOTHER OF CLSA's functions is the analysis of pending legislation in the areas of its interest. At the moment it is occupied with the McCarran bill which, in the guise of being legislation to increase the displaced persons quota, recodifies all our immigration laws. Out of analysis comes insight and a point of view.

This it is that CLSA leads in the creation of policy and the organizations of social action.

People and organizations interested in keeping current **with CLSA's many activities should write to it at 1834 Broadway, N. Y., and ask to be put on the mailing list. Its bi-monthly publication, Law and Social Action, is free and** goes out to a vast group which includes lawyers, mayors' interracial committees, academic and professional people in the race relations field, organizations in related work, libraries, etc. Mimeographed reports go out as the occasion requires.

For example, analyses of the segregation cases and two other Supreme Court decisions of the same day were in the mail one day after the decisions were handed down. Every year, CLSA joins with the NAACP in publishing a balance sheet on race relations.

* * *

CLSA CALLS conferences too. Its most recent one was on civil rights law enforcement. Its contacts and its interests in Europe and Israel give its operation an international flavor which other civil rights organizations do not have. One thing its leadership is convinced of, nonetheless, is the necessity for joint activity by all the organizations working in civil rights and civil liberties whenever they can supplement and support each other.

Certainly we should know Will Maslow, just as we know our own brilliant lawyers. Moreover, Maslow is a deft and exacting administrator from whom organizations can learn a great deal.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Stuyvesant Town Decision Was Obscured by Henderson, McLaurin, Sweatt Victories

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

WE HAVE not read much about the failure of the Supreme Court to grant a writ of certiorari in the Stuyvesant Town case.

This is the case which challenged the right of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to exclude Negro tenants from its multi-million dollar housing project in lower Manhattan, on the basis that the company's low rental policy was made possible by the extension to it of condemnation privileges and tax-exemptions.

Miss McKenzie

The fact that the Court's decision came down on the same day with the Henderson, Sweatt and McLaurin victories has tended to obscure the loss.

A WRIT OF certiorari to review the decision of a lower Federal court or a state supreme court is granted within the discretion of the Supreme Court. Important constitutional or Federal questions must be involved.

Four justices can vote to grant the writ and thus commit the whole Court to hear the case.

There is no way of knowing why the Court refuses to issue a writ. Certainly refusal is one way the Court has of controlling its docket. It carries a heavy burden that includes the appeal cases which come up as a matter of right and which it must hear.

The Court's effectiveness and the caliber of its opinions would be impaired if there were no safety valve enabling it to dispose of its work on a current basis. There was a period during the late nineteenth century when the court was seriously threatened because it was swamped with cases.

* * *

CONGRESS, WHICH exercises control over the Court's appellate jurisdiction, came to its rescue. And Congress is apparently satisfied with the way the Court is currently exercising its certiorari discretion.

It is generally believed that the Court is motivated by political considerations in deciding petitions for certiorari. An issue may not be quite "ripe."

Justice Frankfurter has written a famous opinion regarding the occasions on which the Court will grant the writ. Beyond the technical considerations are the political imponderables, and the Court's sensibility to the climate in which it operates may be the measure of its greatness at a given moment.

The fact that the writ was denied in the Stuyvesant Town case does not mean that the Court agrees with the New York Court of Appeals result. Maybe the Supreme Court would have found state action and a Fourteenth Amendment denial of equal protection, had it taken the case. Nor is the issue one which is confined to New York.

* * *

MY OWN THEORY is that the Court feels that an adequate legislative remedy is available in New York and that claims from other localities will be handled as they arise.

Since the New York Court of Appeals decision in the Stuyvesant Town case, the New York State Legislature has passed a law which requires all state-aided housing projects to be operated on a non-discriminatory basis. This applies to all future Stuyvesant Town situations, but is not retroactive. Thus, in New York, the political process is responsive to the demands of the people. That it has not been fully so does not mean that additional relief is forever an impossibility. Furthermore, social pressures in New York may correct the Metropolitan policy in a short time.

Ideally, in a democracy, the abatement of a widespread injustice should come through legislative channels. The people are their own succor. But with racial and religious minorities—which, to use Chief Justice Stone's language, are "discrete and insular"—the legislative process is often not truly reflective of the need or the particular oppression.

Then it is that the Court steps in and provides relief. This is the area in which charges of usurpation of function are sometimes made against the Court. In a government of divided powers, the judicial, legislative and executive arms should each stick to its own knitting.

* * *

SO IT IS that we must not push the Court too far, for we risk destroying the institution itself. It need not expend its strength in this interstitial area, sometimes referred to as judicial law-making, in New York, where the Negro vote is big, articulate and already expressing itself.

The Court can save the judicial remedy for the Stuyvesant Towns across the country where the Negro minority is weak and the white majority undemocratic.

It is interesting to note that our political strength grows and our cause improves in the field of non-discriminatory public housing. Many states and municipalities now have laws requiring democratic tenant selection. These supplement the improved Federal program and will be the subject of a future column.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Chicago's Banning of Film 'No Way Out' Still Solves Nothing In Race Prejudice

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

THE BANNING in Chicago of "No Way Out," Hollywood's latest problem movie, raises two interesting questions.

The first concerns a possible legal test of the censor's right to ban a film arbitrarily on the ground that its racial theme disturbs the peace. Part of this problem is the further question of who has the right to challenge the censor's action.

Miss McKenzie

Litigation has been under way in Georgia with regard to the banning of "Lost Boundaries" by an Atlanta censorship board. A case was filed in a Federal District court in Georgia by the distributors of the film in which they charged that the banning had caused them to be deprived of their property without due process of law.

* * *

THEY SAID IN their petition that if the theatre owners were not permitted to show the movie, then they, the distributors, would not be able to make their usual profit.

The Court ruled that the distributors had no right to bring the suit since the theatre owners are the direct parties in interest and are the only ones who may make the challenge. Naturally the owners, being amenable to local pressures, are not going to bring suit.

Since a Federal question is involved, it would be better to have it raised in a Federal court, especially in the South. But the case can be started in the state court and the constitutional issue raised there. However, the state court may dispose of the case on state grounds without reaching the constitutional issue, and the Supreme Court of the United States will not upset the State Supreme Court's finding.

* * *

IN THESE CENSORSHIP cases, the state courts may rule that the banning of a racial film in a place where racial feeling runs high is not an arbitrary or unreasonable exercise of the state's police power. The police power is a fundamental attribute of sovereignty and may be employed in summary fashion. Thus, even Federal rights may be sacrificed.

There is a growing tendency in judicial thinking to extend due process principles to more situations and more parties, even though technical niceties do not require the observance. Take, for example, such a matter as a license to engage in any one of the many activities for which the state grants a license.

In many instances a license can be revoked without notice or hearing to the license holder. Yet newer legal doctrine suggests that unless local administrative channels are going to be chocked by these procedures, it is better to provide for them and far more in keeping with the American sense of fair play.

* * *

THE CHICAGO CASE presents the opportunity for legal tests not available in the Georgia case. The Chicago censor authorities should be willing to join in a Federal case which would permit a decision on the question of who may sue and on the constitutional question as well, outside of a Southern context.

The state courts of Illinois, though their procedure may enable them to avoid reaching Fourteenth Amendment problems, ought to feel free enough in a case brought by theatre owners, or distributors, to examine the Federal issues which these banning cases do raise.

Back of the legal hurdles is another substantive matter of great fascination for the people working in race relations. Is the Chicago censor right or merely ignorant when he claims that to show the mere ugliness of prejudice without a resolution is worse than silence? The other point of view is that it is healthier to expose an evil than to bury it.

* * *

BOTH OF THESE positions are too simple and unilateral for successful dealing with the emotional complexities of racial prejudice. The answer lies neither in silence nor exposure, but in indoctrination and control, along whichever route is taken. This is a burden which the movie makers cannot escape.

It is, fundamentally, the burden of conviction and resolution on one side or the other of our racial dilemma and a willingness to stand up and be counted.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

'The Barrier's' Closing May Prove D. C. Unready For the Legitimate Play

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

WHEN the legitimate theatre returned to Washington last year, it was at the Gayety, a former burlesque house, located in one of Washington's seamier downtown districts. It came back on a non-discriminatory basis after local protest, aided nationally by playwrights and actors, had darkened the fancier and racially exclusive National Theatre.

Miss McKenzie

The new attendance policy has been an unobtrusive success, but not until "The Barrier" opened its pre-Broadway try-out at the Gayety on Sept. 26, had Washington experienced a test of the general maturity of its racial attitudes regarding theatre fare.

"The Barrier" is Langston Hughes' old play which had a year-long Broadway run as "The Mulatto." Now set to music by Jan Meyerowitz, it has become a highly complex musical drama, even opera, with Muriel Rahn and Lawrence Tibbett performing handsomely in the title roles.

* * *

WASHINGTON HAS BEEN a cultural wasteland, yet some of the local drama critics and a whispering campaign managed to close "The Barrier" a week short of its two-week Washington engagement and perhaps also have jeopardized its chances of entrance into New York.

Langston Hughes' libretto is based on a familiar Southern theme. A Georgia plantation owner and his Negro housekeeper have maintained an alliance for thirty years, both prior and subsequent to his childless and empty marriage to a white woman.

Four children have been born of the union and have been sent away to school by their white father. One daughter has gone North to live. Another daughter, who is still in school, is able to pretend that her father is merely her mother's employer and is grateful for his favors.

* * *

ONE SON IS more than grateful; he has accommodated himself completely to a servile status and fears to lose even this. But the fourth child, on his return to the plantation, makes the claims of a legitimate son. He is proud and courageous and will not endure servility in the home or segregation in the town. He is a challenge which neither the community nor the father can accept without impairing the whole concept of white superiority.

The father has difficulty in dealing with the boy because secretly he loves his son and admires his courage. The father's conflict is very great; he would kill the boy for coming and going by the forbidden front door of the big house but he cannot.

The son is not torn this way. He is one integrated, prideful whole, and when the father taunts him with his illegitimacy and orders him to leave by the servants' door, a fight ensues in which the angry and humiliated boy chokes his father to death. He is immediately set upon by a lynch mob, which he escapes only long enough to reach the sanctuary of his mother's room where he shoots himself.

* * *

THIS IS A story on which the white Southerners who have been exported to Washington to occupy high places have been nurtured. But when they saw this fragment of the folklore elevated to drama and set to modern, dissonant music worthy of such tragedy, they repudiated its authenticity.

Richard L. Coe, the Washington Post's drama critic, thought the plot unreal, gave the minor characters a sound thrashing and complained that the dance sequence which describes the beginning of the love story between the planter and the housekeeper was irrelevant.

The dance, so beautifully executed by a Negro girl and a white boy, was just too persuasive, too intimate a glance into the human heart for a prejudiced mind to take.

* * *

LAST JANUARY "The Barrier" was presented in New York by the Columbia University Workshop Theatre and got rave notices, including one by the N. Y. Times' Brooks Atkinson, who is worth, professionally speaking, at least a dozen Richard Coes.

It had then the versatile Muriel Rahn, who is both a talented singer and an accomplished actress, and now the luster and skill of Lawrence Tibbett have been added. Mr. Tibbett related to me some of the gossip about "The Barrier's" presence in Washington which he had heard in the town's plushier restaurants.

It concerned some important names and considerable connivance against the play's acceptance. Mr. Tibbett has great faith in the New York run, as well he should if the enthusiasm of those Washingtonians who defied Mr. Coe and came to see "The Barrier" is a test of the play's real merit.

* * *

SUPERFICIALLY, "The Barrier's" Washington experience might be regarded as proof of Washington's unreadiness for a free and honest theatre. Perhaps a more accurate estimate of local attitudes is that there are people in control who are not ready and who will use their power for as long as they can to obstruct the freedom and willingness of others to face reality.

For the ultimate message of "The Barrier" is not that Southern aristocracy is maintained by lynch-mobs, but that people do love each other across the barrier of race, in the most difficult circumstances, and that the existence of such a barrier is tragic and can lead only to tragedy.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

~~Mrs. Sampson's Achievement~~ To U. N. Means Negroes Have Real Voice in World Affairs

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

"THE AVERAGE American is pretty foggy about the United Nations," said Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, The Courier's vice president. "What can we do to bring its meaning home to our readers?"

"Well," replied Benjamin Cohen, who is perhaps the most scholarly member of the U. S. Delegation to the U. N., "the average American is pretty foggy about his own government. The United Nations is much larger and much more complex. It will take time and lots of repetition. Of course, the Korean experience has helped a lot."

Miss McKenzie

We were sitting in the delegates' lounge at Lake Success, the dazzled guests of U. S. Delegate Edith S. Sampson. We had just met General Carlos P. Romulo. A handsome Chilean delegate pulled up a chair to join our circle, which included Dr. N. K. Christopher, NAACP board member from Cleveland.

* * *

A YOUNG MAN from the team that is writing "Who's Who in the United Nations," was hovering hopefully around Mrs. Sampson. A N. Y. Times photographer decided that we were the one group in the room worthy of his attention. "Congress," I said to Mr. Cohen, "was never like this."

As old friends and old Pittsburghers, we were seeing inside U. N. with Mrs. Sampson. The average visitor does not begin his U. N. sight-seeing at the U. S. Delegation's Manhattan office, nor chat with members of the delegation before they scatter to their daily assignments, nor ride out to Lake Success in a U. S. Government car.

He doesn't pay a visit to Dr. Ralph Bunche nor even get into the restricted secretariat area. He doesn't lunch in the delegates' private dining room, with Mr. and Mrs. John Foster Dulles and other very important people from all over the world at nearby tables. He might pass Charles G. Bolte, the brilliant young advocate of world government in the corridor, but not meet him.

* * *

THE AVERAGE VISITOR can observe the meetings of the various committees, adjust the earphones attached to his chair and hear the delegates' speeches in any one of five languages.

He can see all the paraphernalia—the translators' cubicles, the broadcasting and television control rooms, the intricate security system. He can sense the mystery and excitement of world endeavor.

He will see the day-long waves of visitors trying, like himself, to encompass the biggest idea in man's history. He can stand in line with them in the U. N. bookstore, buying pamphlets about world projects, to increase his understanding.

He can go home by way of the Flushing Meadows where the U. N. General Assembly sessions are held. He will then watch U. N. television programs with added interest and read the U. N. columns in daily newspapers with added knowledge.

OF COURSE THE average visitor is not the average American. One hundred fifty million people cannot journey to Lake Success nor even to downtown Manhattan, once U. N. headquarters have been completed and fully occupied. But a hundred fifty million Americans need to understand U. N. and to believe in it if it is to survive as the central force for world peace.

This means, among other things, that Americans have to know what the implications of a U. S. treaty are. They must be aware of the role played by the President, the Senate and the State Department in making, ratifying and carrying out treaty commitments under the U. S. Constitution.

These are political questions, which means that their resolution sometimes hangs on the Negro vote in one large American city. This fact alone has lifted the problem of race off our shoulders and has made it truly, and maybe for the first time, the white man's burden. He has to find a way out to survive.

* * *

ANY NEGRO WHO visits U. N. will come away knowing this and knowing that henceforth his responsibilities to U. N. are as an American, not as a Negro.

Understanding the U. N. itself depends not so much on words as it does on action. It is possible to read a great deal about the U. N. structure and purpose, either in simple or learned language without comprehending or believing.

Yet when the General Assembly voted recently after several years of foggy discussion concerning the whole world, to rehabilitate Korea once military

victory is achieved, it became much clearer to the average American what the U. N. is all about.

* * *

THE KOREAN CAMPAIGN has taught us that U. N. can police the world. A vacuum is a vacuum, however, whether it is made by Communists or U. N. forces. The Assembly's decision to fill the world with order will go far toward discouraging the creation of more scourged and empty places. This is something we can see without being privileged to spend the day at Lake Success.

In the same way we can see what Edith Sampson's appointment to the U. S. Delegation means. At last a Negro is really in the mainstream of American life. Mrs. Sampson does not represent a city, a state or a religion.

She does not represent Negroes or women or lawyers, though she is all of these. She is molding policy and making decisions for all Americans in the most important business America has.

Democratic action makes good copy, easily written, easily understood.

The trial was not fair. The men from his own company who saw Gilbert crack up were not permitted to testify. When a man's life is at stake, everyone who has pertinent information should present it. This was not done.

* * *

I DON'T KNOW why the court-martial wanted to make "an example of someone," but I have a theory. Negro soldiers received a lot of credit as fighting men at first. Maybe this was for foreign consumption to show that the war was not a racial thing.

It was good to let the people of India, China and Africa know that both black and white Americans were fighting. In any case, the pictures of Negro soldiers were spread on the front pages of papers from New York to San Francisco and they were written about in glowing terms.

Now they are being criticized as soldiers according to most of the reports.

How come? People don't change that much over night.

* * *

THE GENERAL ARMY practice is to take a sick man out of combat. Hundreds of thousands in our Army, the English Army and every Army I know about suffered from the same illness in the last war and were given medical care.

Lieutenant Ellert spoke about "an example." Was that example an attempt to "put the Negro" in his place by discrediting Lieutenant Gilbert and the much dogged all-Negro Twenty-fourth? Was it an attempt to avoid the inevitable integration of colored and white in our armed forces?

At this critical moment, if there is the slightest bit of evidence of unfairness the President, as Commander-in-Chief, should see that justice is done.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Aubrey Williams Raised A Question Which Provides An Uncomfortable Moment

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

SEVERAL weeks ago I went Deep South for the first time since the end of the war.

Things looked better than during or before. There was expansion at every turn. More housing projects and more schools. But I found this institutional entrenchment of jim crow more alarming than pleasing.

M. McKenzie

The United Negro College Fund has $85,000 more this year than last. Is that good? I'd be for the College Fund if it were used to send Southern Negro college youth to Northern (or Southern) non-discriminatory colleges. In my heart I hate to see another brick laid for a jim crow school, no matter how modern, how beautiful.

* * *

THUS, IT WAS with considerable joy that I heard Aubrey Williams, editor of the Southern Farmer, speak in the South to a Negro audience against the Southern Regional Plan.

The occasion was the public meeting of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity's annual convention. Aubrey Williams, one of the early New Dealers and former director of the National Youth Administration, is a man of zeal and conviction. But it took him some time to get it over.

Maybe we are just naturally suspicious of a white man in the South. He has to say something several times before we hear, waive his arms before we believe and raise his voice before we applaud.

AUBREY WILLIAMS finally managed to make it clear that he was considerably more opposed to gradualism in racial progress and especially more opposed to state pacts to preserve jim-crow education than some of his audience.

Mr. Williams did a courageous thing. He questioned the motives and the philosophy of those Negro college presidents who are cooperating with the Southern Governors to establish state-supported graduate training on a regional basis.

Obviously, the Southern states, with their lower incomes, cannot support two "equal" state universities to provide graduate and professional training to Negro and white youth. But together they can attempt a few such institutions on an area basis and in so doing halt the progress now being made in the admission of Negro youth to state and private universities formerly unavailable.

* * *

THE PATENT PURPOSE and the patent result of the regional plan is to accomplish just this. Why would any Negro college president play an agreeable role in such a plot? Mr. Williams wanted to know. Considering those who were within figurative if not literal earshot of the question, it provided an uncomfortable moment.

Altogether, seven Southern white universities have opened their doors to Negro students. The Gaines, Sipuel and Sweatt cases do not operate in a vacuum, but in a living society that reflects their meaning. Perhaps some of the cooperating Negro college presidents think that if these doors continue to be pried open by Supreme Court decisions and the pressure of demanding Negro youth, the Negro colleges and universities will experience a decline.

And thus they become advocates of a bad cause from interested motives.

* * *

SUCH A POINT of view may be only a stultifying simplicity. Existing state-owned Negro schools could be amalgamated into the state university system. The difficulty is that the problem of how to combine will never arise if the answer is found in more separatism.

Perhaps Negro presidents, who are cooperating, are assisting in this undertaking only as practical men, without adopting any opinions of their own in the matter.

They think they see all the power lodged in one group. They are aware of the needs of Negro youth. They think it would be useless to resist, foolish to impede the giving of advantages, however offered. Even dangerous. They may think that they are all alone when they face the false cordiality of the state superintendent of education and the gracious Governor in conference over the matter.

* * *

THEY ARE NOT by themselves and they have no right to make decisions for the multitude that stands behind them.

Just last week, seven Negro students stormed the gates of the University of North Carolina. The guilt of middle age should not be permitted to frustrate the new approaches of youth. Too many of us move without realization into a new social context.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Segregation's Structure Leans On Supreme Court Decisions Regarding That Word 'Equal'

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

THOUSANDS of words have been written about the Henderson, McLaurin and Sweatt cases which were argued before the U. S. Supreme Court last week. To aid the layman in understanding their import, it has been stated, very simply, that these cases challenge the legality of racial segregation in the public life. Nonetheless, because of the nature of the judicial process the manner in which our form of government operates, this simple question comes to us in a complex framework.

Miss McKenzie

THE WHOLE STRUCTURE of segregation depends upon the major promise that it would not be legal to exclude Negroes, because of their race, from a public right or benefit. But a minor premise has been adopted in American life which states that such rights or benefits may be provided to Negroes and whites separately, as long as the facilities or conditions are equal or substantially so.

The doctrine of substantial equality was first enunciated by the Supreme Court in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896 and thus it was that the arguments of the lawyers last week were alive with references to the Plessy case. Counsel for Henderson argued that Plessy must be overruled because it is the very source of the doctrine. To rope, curtain or partition Negroes off from white people in a dining car, only because of their race, is a denial of equality, even when the facilities are the same in terms of linen, silver, china and service. The McLaurin case presents the same issue in the field of education where the setting apart takes place in the classroom.

* * *

COUNSEL FOR SWEATT contended that Plessy does not apply to the case because Sweatt is concerned about the legality of exclusion from a state-supported law school on the basis of race, whether or not an equal or substantially equal law school is provided for Negroes. The opposition in all three cases relied upon Plessy as a chief prop of the minor premise, whose main vitality is the contention that segregation is valid under the Constitution of the United States.

What in the Constitution would make segregation in transportation or education in any other public activity invalid? The Fifth Amendment states that the Federal Government may not deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law. The Fourteenth Amendment declares that no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall any state deprive any person of the equal protection of the laws. The Fifth Amendment has no equal protection clause, but there is sound constitutional doctrine that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment has been read into the Fifth Amendment's due process clause.

* * *

IN A SENSE, then, the right of the Negro people not to be segregated depends upon one word—the word "equal." And, since the Supreme Court has the final say on how the Constitution is to be expounded, "equal" means whatever a majority of the nine justices says it means. The definition which Negroes now press for is that equal means the very same thing, enjoyed under the very same standards or regulations, by all persons alike and without racial designation.

Until now, the content of the term "equal protection" has not been clear.

* * *

PROPONENTS OF segregation have claimed that the term permits racial classification as long as there is no discrimination. This is, of course, mere theory. The reality of segregation is obvious in the Plessy v. Ferguson doctrine, for it recognizes that the fact of segregation is always discrimination and this inequality, in turn, has been glossed over by the use of another word—"substantial." The Constitutional requirement is regarded as satisfied if substantial equality is achieved. That the other side of this coin is substantial inequality is now notorious. There are no graduations of equality from absolute to substantial. Any lack of equality causes inequality. What the opposition is really defending, then, is the state's right to extend inequality to Negroes, as Negroes, and for no other reason.

* * *

UNDER WHAT LEGAL theory have the several states gotten away with racial segregation? Under our Federal system, the states did not cede all of their power to the national government, but reserved to themselves all the attributes of sovereignty which they did not grant away. One of the reserved powers is the police power under which the state, as a sovereign government, legislates for the health, safety, welfare and morals of its people. The Southern states, with large Negro populations and the large emotions engendered by the Civil War and the Southern economy — hate, fear, wounded pride—have made out a case for the necessity of separating the races in order to preserve the public peace. The limits on a State Legislature in exercising the state's police power are that its acts must not be arbitrary or unreasonable and must not go beyond

constitutional due process guarantees.

What, then, is the meaning of due process? Is it a procedural requirement, which relates only to such matters as a right to receive notice of a proposed action and an opportunity to be heard, or does due process have a substantive content? Is it capable of a substantive interpretation in which race will be held an irrelevancy? Are racial classifications arbitrary and unreasonable? Is there a difference between the due process limitations of the Fifth Amendment on the Federal Government and those of the Fourteenth Amendment on the states?

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Should the Court Stand Poised The South Had Better Hold Its Breadth and Grab Its Hat

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

LAST week, a discussion of the Henderson, McLaurin and Sweatt cases was begun and is concluded here.

The limits and content of due process requirements are big, unresolved constitutional questions. They show the flexibility of the Constitution itself and explain why the Supreme Court's answers change from one generation and social context to another. Equal protection and due process may mean one thing to the minds of men in 1896, when Plessy v. Ferguson was decided, and another thing entirely when Henderson v. U. S., McLaurin v. Oklahoma and Sweatt v. Painter come up for decision.

Miss McKenzie

During the argument, one of the Supreme Court Justices asked counsel for McLaurin if it would make any difference in the theory of the case if the State of Oklahoma had put in evidence to the effect that racial segregation in the state university graduate school was necessary to preserve peace and order. Counsel said it would make no difference. What he meant was that we are opposing the police power arguments of the states with a constitutional question, namely, that the equal protection and due process clauses require the Supreme Court to hold that racial classifications are invalid, for whatever purpose. If the peace and order are threatened, let the state use its ordniary techniques for maintaining peace and order. This does not and may not permit the making of rules or the limiting of opportunities because of race.

* * *

IN THE HENDERSON case, counsel for the Southern Railway said that separate tables were reserved for Negro and white passengers to preserve order and denied that the refusal to seat a white man in the Negro section or a Negro in the white section is based on race. This statement evoked a great deal of laughter, but it is the logical result of employing the police power theory to support segregation. It also proves that the police power argument is a mere rationalization.

The object of segregation, now as always, is the open demonstration of the claimed inferior status of the Negro.

Neither the Fifth nor the Fourteenth Amendments protects Negroes against the acts of private individuals. The Fifth Amendment guarantees against the acts of the Federal Government, the Fourteenth against those of the states. Negroes are thus insulated, in doctrine, against discriminatory governmental action, and a long line of cases—Ex parte Virginia, Buchanan v. Warley, U. S. v. Classic, Smith v. Allwright, Elmore v. Rice, Shelley v. Kraemer—substantiate and constantly enlarge the outlines of the doctrine.

All three of the recently argued cases, Henderson, McLaurin and Sweatt, complain of governmental action. In the Henderson case, the Interstate Commerce Commission approved the Southern Railway's regulations requiring segregation. The Interstate Commerce Act prohibits discrimination against any person for any reason whatsoever. There is thus the exact question in the Henderson case whether segregation is discrimination under a Federal statute which outlaws discrimination. In McLaurin and Sweatt, Oklahoma and Texas have state laws establishing segregated school systems.

* * *

THE SUPREME COURT could rule favorably in the Henderson case by construing the Commerce Act as prohibiting the Southern Railway's regulation as a discriminatory burden on interstate commerce.

Justice Frankfurter indicated he thinks such a decision would not reach the Constitutional issue. But the implications of such a decision would have to reach the issue, since the material for decision would be drawn from an analysis of the relevancy of race.

A favorable decision in the McLaurin and Sweatt cases would outlaw state segregation laws in the field of education and ultimately drag down other segregation laws. We have seen that governmental action which creates, sanctions or enforces racial discrimination with regard to the Negro's right to vote or buy a house will be struck down by the Supreme Court. This last trilogy—Henderson, McLaurin and Sweatt—constitutes a logical extension of the meaning of those decisions.

* * *

THERE IS AMPLE legal theory on which we can win. Whether we win becomes, then, in a large sense, a political and social question.

Within the broad framework of the Constitution, the Supreme Court is responsive to change in the political and social order. This is the genius of our form of Government and the meaning of our boasts that ours is a living law. Usually we have lured the court on with blandishments that the step it is invited to take is short and inevitable.

In the Henderson case, the court is asked to dispose of "remnants of slavery," in the words of Henderson's lawyer. In McLaurin, the court would only require Oklahoma to give up the symbolism of segregation, having already dispensed with substance. The implications of such decisions would then be woven by us into a larger pattern.

* * *

SWEATT IS SOMETHING else again. It has been stripped bare of the factual context. The court was asked by counsel not to look at the basement law school for Negroes established by Texas, but only at Sweatt's application to the University of Texas. This is a pure legal question and demands from the court not a step, but a leap. Henderson is posed so as to give the court no out that it can take, legally or morally. If the court refuses to take the leap in Sweatt, we are done in for some time. Should it stand poised, however, the South better hold its breath and grab its hat.

GERTRUDE **Martin**

J. Saunders Redding's New Novel Is Disturbing Revelation

IN HIS first novel, "Stranger and Alone," as in his earlier non-fiction works, "To Make A Poet Black" and "No Day of Triumph," J. Saunders Redding reveals himself a writer of imagination and great skill. A member of the faculty of Hampton Institute, (now visiting professor at Brown University), Mr. Redding sets his story at Arcadia State College, mythical institution in the deep South. The earlier part of the book centers around another such institution, New Hope College.

"Stranger and Alone" traces the career of Shelton Howden from his entrance at New Hope as an over-age freshman to its peak at Arcadia State where he becomes assistant and general stooge to its president. As the light-skinned son of a white father and Negro mother, Howden had been set apart at the orphan home where he lived for many years. Proud of his color and resentful of the fact that he was excluded like the other work students from the normal colleged life at New Hope, Howden fiercely kept to himself.

Later at Arcadia State the bitterness of these early years proved good preparation for his role as favorite to President Wimbush. Wimbush not only looked like white but was described by his secretary as "the whitest-acting colored man I've ever seen." Gossip made him the son of the late Governor, thus explaining his unassailable position in the state.

Mr. Redding, it seemed to be, is more successful in describing the isolated, often un-academic, color-conscious, intimidated atmosphere of Arcadia State than in making Howden come to life as a character. Even in the early scenes as a lonely freshman, he is not sympathetic and in several instances, then and later, his actions were far-fetched. This was true at the time of his roommate, Thompson's death, and later in his relationship with his wife.

Some readers of "Stranger and Alone" will probably regard it as a "key" novel and will busy themselves attempting to identify this or that character.

In any event, Mr. Redding has spared neither faculty, student body, nor the pretensions of Negro society in this scathing novel of a Negro who capitalized on the color of his skin to advance himself. The character of President Wimbush who grovelled before whites and scorned Negroes bitterly is skillfully drawn. The author is less successful with his women whose roles are secondary. In the case of Gerry, President Wimbush's daughter, the motivations for her actions are not clear.

"Stranger and Alone" is a strong novel and, although fiction, has considerable basis in truth. It is a disturbing book and one that will certainly not endear Mr. Redding to some Negro college personnel. It deserves to be widely read.

Gertrude Martin

Here Among Many Is New Book About Dixie Lynching

BOOKS ABOUT lynching in the South are fairly common, but among them a new novel, "Reprisal," by Arthur Gordon, is to my knowledge unique. Mr. Gordon begins his story about a year after the lynching involved and writes about a man who returns to wreak vengeance on those responsible. As the Author's Note states, the quadruple lynching here is based on the actual tragedy which took place at Monroe, Ga., but the rest of the story is fiction.

Much of the action in "Reprisal" is seen through the eyes of Joe Melady, a Northern magazine reporter who comes on the happenings in Hainesville, scene of the lynching, by accident. Others who become involved, either directly or indirectly, are Unity Cantrell, a reporter on the Hainesville paper; the Aycocks, father and two sons, the latter who were present at the lynching; Yancey Brown, the young Negro undertaker, and Nathan Hamilton, whose wife had been lynched.

At first I found Mr. Gordon's technique of switching from one character to another slowed his book, but my interest was caught and held as the story progressed. The suspense increased up to the dramatic climax, which is effectively handled.

Mr. Gordon has given a sharp, new twist to rather shopworn material. The characters express and live a variety of approaches to the race problem, from the violence of Bubber Aycock to the calm appraisal of integration by Unity's Aunt Guley. It seemed to me the author spoke his views through Judge Winter, who recommended keeping segregation "until it broke down of its own accord," but giving Negroes equal education at Federal expense, and justice in the courts, using Federal guarantees if necessary.

Yet, it is the same judge who tells his clerk earlier in the book that if he were black he would be tempted to hit back. Like many Southerners, the well-meaning whites here are confused and uncertain as to what they should do. The author's Negro characters are more stilted, especially the men like Yancey and Nathan.

Mr. Gordon is a Savannahian (my own home town) and knows his South and his Southerners. His book expresses the horror, fear and viciousness which violence builds up in the minds of Negroes and whites. His ending offers no solution for the community, although the forces of good do come out slightly ahead. It is a strong book and an unusual first novel.

"Reprisal" by Arthur Gordon; Simon and Schuster; New York City; 1950; $3.00

"CAPTAIN SAM GRANT"

A sizeable chunk was omitted last week from my review of Lloyd Lewis' fine biography of U. S. Grant. The result was to emphasize the incident at West Point, when Grant acquired the initial "S" through an error, but to omit references to Grant's service in the Mexican War, his kindly attitude to Negroes, Mexicans and Chinese, his devotion to his family and his turning to drink to assuage his loneliness when he was separated from his wife and sons. "Captain Sam Grant" is the result of long, careful research and was written with great understanding. The review in its foreshortened form certainly did not do it justice.

AUTHORS MEET THE PEOPLE

Last Tuesday was Book and Author day at the Chicago Fair and Pulitzer Prize-winning poet was one of the Chicago authors introduced at the short program. Among the others were mystery writer Mignon Eberhart, Marguerite Henry, who writes about horses for young people and came complete with Misty, a beautiful Palomino pony; and Ilka Chase, not a Chicagoan, who is appearing in "Goodbye, My Fancy" at a nearby summer theater. Critics from the daily press also were introduced.

Gertrude Martin

'Road Without Turning' Is A Book Worth Your Reading

THERE is much in "Road Without Turning," the autobiography of the Rev. James H. Robinson, which reminds the reader of "Black Boy." But somehow, although he was the victim of almost as many of life's hard knocks as Richard Wright, the Rev. Robinson never remained embittered for long. He makes it clear, however, that often hatred for the white man filled him like an evil tide. Today as pastor of the Church of Our Master in New York City he has found a way of life that has brought peace to him.

As a child in the Bottoms of Knoxville, Tennessee, James Robinson knew poverty and often hunger. His father was a member of the Sanctified church, who gave of his meager earnings and much of his time to the church. His mother died early and after her death he found life even more difficult as he strove for an education against the efforts of his father and others.

With the help of the Presbyterian Church in Cleveland where the Robinsons had moved, he was able to attend Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, but he had to work hard at all times. After Lincoln he attended Union Theological Seminary in New York where he found the hypocrisy of some of his Christian fellow students almost too much to bear. But the kindly guidance of one of his professors caused him to change his resolve to leave the school.

As an opponent of segregation Rev. Robinson states the Negro church must eventually "work itself out of existence." In a discussion of the Negro College Fund he writes: "Negro colleges, like Negro churches, if they are to continue, must work as hard at the task of ultimate integration as they do at the problems contemporary segregation lays upon them. Their goal ought to be either to work themselves out of existence or work toward making themselves interracial."

In his last chapters Rev. Robinson devoted considerable space to the NAACP's opposition to Sydenham Hospital which he was instrumental in founding as an interracial institution. He also discusses the differences he had with the NAACP over a student scholarship group aimed at helping more Negro students enter mixed institutions of higher learning. These chapters lack the lively interest of the earlier ones.

"Road Without Turning" is a frank, very readable account of one Negro's adjustment to the world in which he lives. Rev. Robinson has come far from the Knoxville Bottoms and his story should be a source of hope for many. His discussions of a Negro's reactions to whites are extremely important and his ability to turn hate into constructive fields is a tribute to his understanding and to those whites who befriended him. One minor criticism; the conversations which Rev. Robinson quotes here, many of which took place many years ago, must be reconstructions rather than the actual words exchanged.

"Road Without Turning" by Rev. James H. Robinson; Farrar, Straus; New York City; 1950; $3.00

Gertrude Martin

African Travel Book Is Good Even If You Don't Plan To Travel

MARTIN FLAVIN, in "Black and White," has written a unique sort of travel book. Far more than other books on the subject I have read, it describes the different faces Africa presents to the traveller—in physical appearance and in the minds of its people. Mr. Flavin, who is sixty-five, is a keen observer and one who took nothing at face value. Natives, Europeans, whether missionaries, government workers, or business men, all came under his careful scrutiny.

Many aspects of South Africa's rigid color line were "painfully reminiscent of those we have at home," Mr. Flavin wrote. "But there is one important, fundamental difference: every step the black man is able to take forward in America has the support of law—of National law at least; in South Africa, every step he takes is in violation and defiance of it. The cards are stacked against him."

Travelling from South Africa with its oppressive treatment of the natives to the Belgian Congo was like going into another world, "physically, historically, politically and spiritually," Mr. Flavin writes. The Belgians, he believes, are making a sincere effort to bring forth a new nation and to prepare the native population for the responsibilities it gradually assumes. In the Congo he saw native train engineers and firemen, native cooks and waiters in the diners, native policemen, government workers, etc.

Mr. Flavin considers the Ruanda-Urundi section of the Congo one of the beauty spots of the world and his description of the landscape there give the reader a vivid picture. This is true all through the book, whether he is writing of the crude huts, the various hotels which he found almost everywhere, surprisingly enough, the mine he visited, the homes of natives and of Europeans, and most especially when he is writing of the people he met and talked with.

After leaving South Africa, the author spent several days at Serowe with the then Chief Tshekedi Khama, uncle of the now famous Seretse Khama. He found him a hard-working, ambitious man, anxious to modernize his country, but faced with terrific problems of finance and personnel. On the whole, Mr. Flavin did not find Tshekedi Khama a very likeable person.

"Black and White" is written with great clarity from a background of careful observation and understanding. It is both informative and interesting. Mr. Flavin's wit, knowledge of human nature and writing ability make it an extremely valuable book.

"Black and White" by Martin Flavin; Harper; New York City; 1950; $4.00.

Gertrude Martin

Omit Famous Writers As 'Unsuitable' In Study Of Literature Dealing With Negro

"AMERICAN Literature by Negro Authors" edited by Herman Dreer, professor of English at Stowe Teachers College is designed especially for classroom use and contains selections by American Negro writers. There are quite a few glaring omissions and a number of authors are included whose works, as they appear here, do not seem to warrant inclusion. In his Preface Mr. Dreer states that "much realistic material, though regarded by some as showing artistic skill, has been omitted as unsuitable for classroom use."

By turning his back on "realistic" writing, (which would include the great majority of novels and short stories today), Mr. Dreer has omitted excellent writers like Willard Motley ("Knock On Any Door"); Richard Wright ("Native Son," "Black Boy," "Uncle Tom's Children"); and Ann Petry ("The Street," "Country Place"), from his section on the novel. Motley and Wright are not included in the Bibliography of supplemental readings.

None of Wright's fine short stories nor any by Ann Petry or Ralph Ellison are here but there is a lesser effort by Paul Laurence Dunbar, "The Strength of Gideon," which has little to recommend it from a literary point of view and only glorifies the faithful retainer of Civil War Days. Another of the three short stories here, "There Will Always Be Hope," by Collean Williams, reads like a script for a movie.

The discussion of the drama omits excellent plays like "Deep Are the Roots," "Strange Fruit," "On Whitman Avenue" and "Lost In the Stars," all of which are far in advance of such glorifications of the primitive Negro as "Porgy," "Cabin in the Sky" and "The Green Pastures" which Mr. Dreer mentions as the only type Broadway has yet accepted. He includes nothing by Langston Hughes in the drama section and writes off "Mulatto" as "a play of primitive life."

Two of my favorite young poets, Margaret Walker, who won the Yale Award for Young Poets several years ago, and Robert Hayden, are not represented in the poetry section. Other poets too, might be listed who seem superior to a number whose works appear here. There are two short poems by Gwendolyn Brooks although the quality of her work would seem to warrant placing more emphasis on it than on some of the lesser poets.

"American Literature by Negro Authors" might have been a far more representative sampling of Negro writing had its editor chosen to include the great field of realistic writing, much of which would not be out of place in the classroom. Any literate high school student today will probably read Hemingway, Steinbeck or Dos Passos, all of whom are realistic writers. Mr. Dreer gives considerable space to Paul Laurence Dunbar and others who represent romanticism in literature and some of whom are not artistically the equal of those he has omitted.

"American Literature by Negro Authors" by Herman Dreer; The Macmillan Company; New York City; 1950.

MAYS

A Person Like Dr. Drew Could Never Finish His Work, Even If He Lived To Be Ninety Years Old

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

Courier

ALL AGREE that the death of Charles Drew was a calamity. The whole nation mourns his death.

Sat. 4-29-50

Nobody knows what humanity has lost in his untimely death. It is another case where a man saved others, but he could not save himself. It was Drew, through the blood bank, who saved the lives of thousands of men on the battlefield. But Drew could not save himself.

Dr. Mays

Nineteen centuries ago, enemies of Jesus said this about him. He saved others, himself he could not save. And yet, it is a wonderful tribute to be able to say that a man saved others. This can certainly be said of Doctor Drew.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE DEATH OF a good, useful person always creates mystery and wonder; especially when one dies so young. We can take it a little better when a man dies a natural death and when he dies at a ripe old age.

It was shocking to me to learn of the death of Carter Woodson, another great soul. But Woodson was probably approaching eighty. He had had more time than Drew to make his contribution. When one dies as a result of age, we can at least feel that he has had his full chance. And yet, some people accomplish more in ten years than others accomplish in a hundred years. Drew at 45 had done more significant things than most people who live to be quite old.

* * *

IF WE COULD divorce ourselves from our feelings and look at life objectively and with complete detachment, we could say and mean it—that it isn't how long one lives, but how well. It sounds good and it is true. But that fact brings no consolation to the heart of Mrs. Charles Drew. Drew died young. His job was unfinished. And yet a person like Drew could never finish his work even if he had lived to be 90. Though he died young, he will be immortal as some others who died young are immortal. His work will live after him as theirs did.

He will join a host of great men who died early. In one sense, it isn't how long one lives, but how well. Drew died at 45. Byron and Burns died at 36; Keats and Marlowe died at 29. Shelley died at 30. William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago, a master mind, died at 49. Jesus died at 33. Drew was famous at 45.

Dickens had produced the work which made him immortal by the time he was 40.

* * *

AS TRUE AS all this is, one cannot help but wonder how much richer the literary world would have been if Byron, Burns, Keats, Marlowe and Shelley had lived longer. The University of Chicago is great. But it might have been greater if William Rainey Harper had lived longer.

Drew wrought mightily in forty-five years, but how much more mightily would he have wrought if he had lived longer. It is clear that Drew was just beginning to do great things.

We hope his dying will stimulate others to strive to do something worthwhile. He must have loved his job. He certainly could have gone into private practice and made big money. He elected to teach and inspire young men. He had a great personality. Though I never had much time with him, I enjoyed his presence.

* * *

IT WAS IN the spring of 1948 that we had a stimulating hour with him when he was our guest at dinner.

When men like Drew die, it **strengthens my belief in immortality.**

MAYS

The U. S. High Court Did Not Rule on the Merits of Georgia's County Unit System

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

31A Negro

WHETHER a law is constitutional or not depends upon what the majority of nine men say it is. Be that as it may, a decision by the United States Supreme Court is final certainly final for a long time.

Courier Sat. 5-13-50 Pittsburgh, Pa.

After the court has changed complexion, a previous decision of the Supreme Court may be reversed. Roosevelt sought to get his will done by packing the court, by putting libberal minds on the bench. But in this case one has to wait either on death or retirement.

Dr. Mays

Since a Supreme Court Judge gets full pay after he is retired, the complexion of the court may change without death.

* * *

I AM INCLINED to believe that neither retirement nor death will help us with our county unit system in Georgia. The vote was too decisive for comfort. The decision was 7-2 in favor of the constitutionality of the Georgia county unit system.

Let me say again that the county unit system in Georgia is a system which enables the small, sparsely populated, rural and small town areas to carry an election. For example, three counties in Georgia with a total population of 30,000 will get six county unit votes. Fulton County, with a half million (500,000) people will get six county unit votes. A vote in one of the counties with 10,000 people will count about seventeen times as much as a vote in Fulton County.

In other words, the smallest county gets two unit votes and the largest county can get only six unit votes. If 3,000 people vote in a county, the candidate who gets 1,501 votes will get all the county unit votes. A candidate can get a minority of the votes and be Governor of Georgia.

* * *

IT IS THIS system which the **United States Supreme Court says is constitutional. It must be said, however, that the United States Supreme Court did not rule on the merit of the system.**

It simply ruled that it is not within the power of the United States Supreme Court to interfere with a state election in this way; so it upheld the decision of the Georgia Supreme Court. Personally, I think the majority opinion of the United States Supreme Court was wrong. I believe that the minority opinion of Douglas and Black is the right one.

It is unfair to discriminate politically against a man because he is a Jew, Gentile, or a Negro. It is also unfair to discriminate against a county because it is big. Now it is up to us in Georgia to get the county unit system changed.

The Georgia county unit system is definitely unfair. I believe the spirit behind the system is dishonest. But since the United States Supreme Court has spoken, it is up to us in Georgia to change it.

THE McCREADY CASE has national significance. By unanimous vote the Appeals Court of Maryland says Esther McCready has a right to attend the State University's School of Nursing and that she does not have to go to Meharry in Nashville, Tenn. Miss McCready was denied admission to the University Nursing School and was offered admission to Meharry, "at no additional cost under the reciprocal compact signed by ten Southern States."

This is a blow against regional education if a state attempts to send a Negro outside of the state when the particular course sought is given within the state. The Maryland Court simply agrees with decisions of the United States Supreme Court which, up to now, has ruled that a state can segregate if the facilities are equal. But they must be provided within the state.

If a state has no course within its borders and sends both Negroes and whites to another state, that would meet the test. But before this article is printed, the United States Supreme Court may have handed down its decisions in the Henderson, Sweatt and McLaurin Cases. Then we will know if segregation is constitutional.

MAYS

Berea Was Educating Negroes When the Day Law Went Into Effect Forty Odd Years Ago

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

Courier

IT IS NOT surprising that Berea College, as soon as the Day Law was modified, announced that it would enroll Negroes from the Appalachian Mountain Area.

It is not surprising because Berea was educating Negroes when the Day Law went into effect some forty odd years ago. I have kept in fairly close touch with Berea within recent years and I know that only the Day Law kept Berea from admitting Negroes. A Negro on the campus of Berea College feels perfectly at home.

Dr. Mays

The people at Berea are accustomed to having Negro guests. The atmosphere at Berea is ripe and ready for the matriculation of Negroes.

Sat. 5-13-50

But Negro applicants must bear in mind the fact that Negroes who are admitted to Berea must come from the Appalachian area—the section from which the white students are drawn. A Negro student who applies from swanky Atlanta or New York will be turned down, not on the basis of race, but on the basis of geography.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

* * *

IT IS STRIKINGLY significant that the University of Louisville is to admit Negroes, and according to the press, in 1951 the Louisville Municipal College for Negroes will be closed.

The Associated Negro Press states that the University of Louisville will admit Negroes to all graduate divisions during the 1950-51 school year and to all schools, graduate and undergraduate, the year following. Negroes are already enrolled in the University of Kentucky. I understand that other colleges in Kentucky are also opening their doors to Negroes.

I hope the University of Louisville will take another significant step and take some of the faculty members of the Louisville Municipal College on the faculty of the University of Louisville. It may be that the 217 Negro students enrolled now at the Louisville Municipal College could be easily absorbed by the University of Louisville with approximately its same staff. By the end of the academic year 1950-51, the number to be absorbed will be smaller. Despite the fact, it will be most unfortunate if none of the Negro teachers are absorbed by the University of Louisville.

* * *

AS WE MOVE toward integration, I hope it will not be a case of integrating students and not integrating faculty. **I trust that when integration comes in the South it will not take the colleges of the South as long to put Negroes on their faculties as it took the colleges and universities of the North.**

Many sections of the North have never had segregation by law and yet it took the North an age to permit Negroes to teach in the colleges and uni-

versities. It was just recently that many sections of the North would let Negroes teach in the high schools.

Even today in some Northern cities, Negroes are denied the opportunity to teach in high schools. Discrimination will not necessarily go with segregation. Many colleges will admit Negro students in the future, but will fight against having Negro professors. It is at that point that Negroes must be alerted.

* * *

THIS IS A challenge to Negroes. We must never expect to be hired because we are Negroes. We must meet the competition. There is no doubt in my mind that when segregation goes we will still have to fight discrimination.

There will be the tendency to make token employment of Negro teachers; just a few. There will also be a tendency to keep Negroes in subordinate positions. This is bound to happen. Here the Negro must fight for a place in a non-segregated society.

But he cannot make the fight honestly and successfully unless he is just as competent as the white professor. At this point let the Negro beware. Integration will be good for the Negro. The competition will be keener and this will stimulate him to do his best.

He will fool around less when integration comes. If the Negro is thoroughly competent, he will have many white friends fighting for him.

MAYS

Baptist World Alliance Takes Definite Steps On Problems of Bias in Connection's Churches

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

MY LAST article, July 29, was written from Toronto, Canada. I was there attending the meeting of the central committee of the World Council of Churches. I wrote about South Africa. Before the central committee closed its session there was quite a discussion on a proposed fellowship commission to South Africa to learn first-hand what the racial situation there is like.

Dr. Mays

A representative of the Dutch Reformed Church had suggested that an all-white commission would be preferred. Several reasons were given for this: A Negro might not be able to get a visa; the commission could not live together in South Africa if the group were mixed; the Dutch Church might not ask the World Council to send a delegation if a Negro or Indian or both were to be included.

* * *

ALL THE OBJECTIONS were brushed aside when some of us made it clear that the World Council was an ecumenical body and it could not send an all-white committee. A commission, if sent, would have to be mixed, including a Negro and an Indian. The central committee voted unanimously that if a delegation were sent it would be truly ecumenical. I had considerable to say about this both in the commission on international affairs and in the plenary session.

Now I write from Cleveland, Ohio, at the Baptist World Alliance. As chairman of the commission on social justice, I had to be here in Cleveland five days before the session began. For three days and a half we wrestled with "social justice." We had something to say about the international situation with special reference to Korea.

We made pronouncements on contemporary economic movements. We also made a declaration on human rights. We expect our report to be commended to the Baptist churches of the world for study and consideration.

* * *

MEMBERS OF THE commission are representatives from England, Wales, Denmark, Sweden and the United States. We came to grips with the race problem. We called upon the Baptist churches of the world to examine their interracial policies and practices with a view of eradicating in their worship and fellowship all forms of segregation and discrimination based on race, color or culture.

We called upon Baptist churches of the world to use their influence to have discriminatory laws repealed wherever they appear in their respective countries.

We urged Baptists to seek where necessary the enactment of laws designed to safeguard the rights of oppressed racial groups.

* * *

WE ALSO CALLED upon every Baptist throughout the world to examine prayerfully and penitently his own soul with a view of **freeing himself of racial prejudice and to embody in his own person the Mind and Spirit of Christ in all human relations: in work, business, education, Government, politics, religion and recreation.**

The commission could not have said much more. There is something interesting here. The persons who had a hand in drafting the report on race are Southerners. They were from Savannah, Louisville and Atlanta. This is quite significant; especially so since we look upon Southern Baptists as being socially conservative.

But this commission has said as much as any other world body has said on the subject. It is a sign that Southern churchmen are becoming more liberal.

* * *

I BELIEVE THIS is the first time the Baptist World Alliance has had a commission on social justice and we recommended that a permanent commission be established. Men of color are contributing their share. Doctors Jernagin and Roland Smith, and Miss Nannie Burroughs are on the executive committee. Dr. Gardner Taylor preaches and the writer delivers an address. Many thousands are here representing the Baptists of the world.

The Baptist World Alliance met in Berlin, Germany, in 1934. It met in Atlanta in 1939. It met in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1947 and in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1950. It is a great body resembling in function the World Council of Churches. The alliance cannot legislate for the churches nor can the World Council. It can only commend its actions to the churches for study.

MAYS

Baptists in Cleveland Behaved as Humans Should Always Do Under Christian Fellowship

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

I HAVE just driven 2,700 miles (accompanied by my wife and sister-in-law) from Atlanta to Toronto, Canada and returned by way of Cleveland, Ohio. My article of July 29 was on the Central Committee meeting of the World Council of Churches which was held in Cleveland, July 22-27. Some of us who worked on commissions had to be in Cleveland as early as July 17. This is the second and last article on the Baptist Congress.

Dr. Mays

They came to Cleveland from many lands. In the Cleveland Stadium where some 30,000 persons assembled July 22, they had the roll call of the nations. Representatives of forty-nine different nations assembled, answered the roll call, and marched with their flags hoisted to their respective seats.

* * *

FORTY-NINE FOREIGN countries were not represented by delegates, but people in this country represented them. I am sure, though, that more than thirty nations sent representatives. The official count shows that 44,800 peoples registered. This included those who paid the registration fee of $5 and those who registered for only one or more activities.

If one paid $5 he could attend all activities without further charge. Each single program was $1. My guess is there were more than 20,000 registrants who paid the $5 fee.

When I see how Christian and decent people can be in a world gathering, I wonder why they cannot be that way back home. Every state in the union was represented. Hotels were taxed to capacity. Restaurants were taxed to capacity. As far as I know there wasn't the slightest sign of racial discrimination anywhere.

* * *

NEGROES AND COLORED peoples sat everywhere in the Stadium and any place in the public auditorium. I understand that the public auditorium seats about 10,000 people as it was arranged during the congress. It seems that Negroes were seated in every row all over the place. As far as I know no one ran because a Negro sat down next to him.

I heard of no discrimination based on race in the hotels. I heard of no restaurant refusing to serve Negroes. There were Negroes in practically all of the hotels. Negroes and whites made up the choir on Sunday morning, July 23, when Gardner Taylor preached a remarkable sermon. A Negro woman sang a beautiful solo before I spoke on Tuesday, July 25. The wonderful pageant on religious liberty composed and directed by D. R. Sharpe was made up of Negroes and whites. Dr. W. H. McKinney of the Antioch Baptist Church of Cleveland, who was one of the hosts, spoke at the opening meeting and was a vital part of the preparation and the entertaining of the congress.

* * *

Dr. Prince of Texas was a vice president. Dr. W. H. Jernagin and Miss Nannie Burroughs were members of the official group. I heard that Miss Burroughs gave a stirring address in the special section for women. Dr. Jemison, president of the National Baptist Convention, Inc., was elected one of the vice presidents for the next five years and Dr. Jernagin is a member of the executive committee. Dr. Roland Smith served on the relief committee and was a member of the executive committee from 1947 to 1950.

The white people from the deep South took it bravely. By accident I sat down in a coffee shop to eat next to a man and his wife from Jackson, Miss. They showed no sign of resentment. Many people from Atlanta and the South came to me to express appreciation for my address. Two white Southerners and myself did all of the work on race in the Commission on Social Justice. An able Southerner presided and presented Gardner Taylor.

How strange! Many of these people who moved as Christians in Cleveland, mixed, mingled, prayed and worshiped with Negroes will return to their respective homes behaving in the same old prejudiced way. But I must believe that some will return more enlightened and will be far more understanding of the meaning of Christian fellowship. Traditions, customs, and the mores make cowards of us all—even people who call themselves "Christians."

MAYS

Negroes Will Become Blindfolded If They Join in the South's New Song of Progress

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

WE PEOPLE in the South have a new line and we shout it so loudly that Northerners are singing the same song. It is the song of progress.

The argument of progress is so universal when it comes to the Negro that I fear that Negro leaders themselves will be blindfolded and lose sight of the real issues. If one should point out the inadequacy in the Negro public schools of the South, the retort is, yes the Negro schools are inadequate, but look how much progress we have made within the last decade or so.

Dr. Mays

If one should talk about a lynching, the retort is, it is too bad that Georgia or Mississippi had a lynching, but you must remember that lynching is gradually dying out. It is only a matter of time and there will be no lynching in the South. When one speaks of Civil Rights legislation, we hear the same argument, "Things are getting better; therefore, we do not need legislation." This is a dangerous line.

* * *

IN THE FIRST place, if you keep repeating this half truth, shout it long enough and loud enough, people will believe it. The human mind can believe anything if it hears it long enough and loud enough. By this method of constant repetition, Hitler was able to get millions of Germans to believe that the Jews were their misfortune.

Negroes themselves are likely to believe that things are moving along quite fast enough. That is the first danger. It is like the average emancipation speech.

Negroes can brag on themselves so much that they will forget that we are many, many decades behind the American white man. It leads to gradualism which is a pernicious doctrine.

* * *

THE SECOND DANGER of this doctrine of Negro progress lies in the fact that one does not run a race by himself. For example, the only way you can honestly measure progress in the segregated Negro public schools of the South is to compare the progress made in Negro schools during the last twenty-five years.

My bet is that in many instances the greater progress has been made in the white schools. **The people who boast of Negro progress in this area never speak of the progress the white schools have made in a comparable period. If the improvement in white schools always equals that in Negro schools or is greater than that in Negro schools, the gulf of inequality will never close.**

What the Negro should be concerned with is not how much progress is being made in the race where the Negro is running by himself, but how rapidly is the gulf of inequality in education being closed. Certainly Negro public schools are better today than they were a decade ago. So are the white schools. The question is, are they more nearly equal now than they were ten years ago?

To answer this question, we need facts and figures. Let's get them.

* * *

LET US ASSUME for the sake of argument that the gulf of inequality is being closed. Then we have a right to know if we continue at the present rate, will there be complete equality in 1955 or in 1960? In 1975 or in the year 2000? If it comes by 1955 I could accept that kind of gradualism. But if the present rate of progress means that there will be equality in the year 2000 or never then I swear eternal hatred to the doctrine of gradualism.

Make no mistake, these inequalities will never be equalized by the philosophy of gradualism. And if we really wanted to equalize educational opportunities, we could do it in five years.

Around 1930, a distinguished leader in interracial work shouted that North Carolina was spending at that time more money for the education of Negroes than it spent for the whole state twenty years before. But when a comparison was made between what was spent on Negroes and whites, the facts revealed that the gulf of inequality was widening rather than closing.

If gradualism means this, I want none of it.

MAYS

A Plague on Both Their Houses for Neither Party Is Concerned About the Basic Rights of Negroes

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

WHEN civil rights legislations were up some time back, I predicted that Congress would pass none of them. I was right. I will be surprised if Congress passes any of them this time.

Certainly there will be no FEPC legislation that's worth anything. The Republicans do not want it bad enough to pass it. The Democrats do not want it bad enough to pass it. The Democrats have been in power for almost twenty years now.

Dr. Mays

They could pass FEPC legislation and other civil rights measures if they really wanted to pass them. My belief is that were the Republicans in power, they would do no better. And the Republicans are not going to help the Democrats pass civil rights legislation because they do not want the Democratic party to get credit for doing anything as decent as that.

As for the Northern Democrats, they are not going to pass any legislation designed to help the Negro if the Southern Democrats do not want it. There is deceit, politics, and dishonesty in both parties when it comes to civil rights legislation. Plague on both of their houses!

* * *

WE MUST NOT fool ourselves. The Southerners would filibuster just as hard, and have, in opposition to an anti-poll tax bill, an anti-segregation bill, and a bill designed to stop lynching.

I believe they would oppose Federal aid to education if it had enough safeguards to prohibit racial discrimination. One or two brief sentences will sum up the Southern Congressmen's attitude on civil rights. "Leave us in the South alone. Let us do as we please when it comes to the Negro."

The Republicans have had their chance to pass civil rights legislation and the Democrats have had theirs. The Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans often get together, swap, and trade. Neither party as a whole is concerned about the Negro's basic rights.

* * *

WHEN PEOPLE ARE against something, it is hard for them to be logical. Senator Russell of Georgia is an able Senator. He has a brilliant mind. And yet Senator Russell argues that the enactment of an FEPC bill would be a "long step forward toward the communistic state."

New York has a Fair Employment Practice Law. The New York State Government is no nearer communism than the Georgia State Government.

Massachusetts has a FEPC law and Massachusett's Government is no nearer to communism than the South Carolina State Government. **Senator Russell also argues that such a bill "will do more to foster race and religious consciousness in this country and to confuse and prejudice our people than a thousand hate groups." This has not been the case in New York and it has not been the case in Massachusetts.**

* * *

IT WAS ARGUED that if the Federal courts ruled that Negroes should vote, it would increase racial strife. The Federal courts did rule and we have no evidence that racial strife has increased as a result of it.

Negroes have sued and won equalization of salaries in several areas of the South and we have no evidence that racial prejudice has increased as a result.

I will believe our Southern Senators are fighting for a principle when they oppose Federal intervention, only when they fight for fair employment in their respective states, abolish the poll tax in their respective states, and urge the passage of an anti-lynch bill in their respective states. Until they do that, I will doubt their sincerity.

I will also doubt the sincerity of the Northern Senators — Democrats and Republicans, when they could pass civil rights legislation, without the deep South, and fail to do it.

Plague on both of their houses!

MAYS

Negroes Must Continue To Run Faster and to Work Harder Because of The Great Distance Ahead

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

IT IS a great thing to look back and see the great distance one has traveled. But the picture is never complete until we look forward and see how far we must yet go.

As one crosses the Atlantic en route from Europe to America it is always encouraging to view the chart and be able to say "we have traveled approximately 1,500 miles." But to be realistic, one must also say that as fine as this is, there is still 1,500 miles yet to go.

Dr. Mays

It is this realistic note that the Negro must continue to strike when there is too much praise about the progress he has made. What follows is something for the Negro graduates of 1950 to ponder. It is true that around 1900 there were hardly more than 600 Negroes enrolled in all the colleges in the United States.

It is also true that today there are close to 90,000 Negroes enrolled in American colleges, graduate, technical and professional schools. This is wonderful and left out there without comparison it would be misleading.

* * *

A FEW WEEKS ago I said in one of my columns that one does not run a race by himself. As the Negro runs this race he must keep in mind the distance yet to be traveled and how he compares with the progress that other Americans are making.

In a book published by Harper Brothers in 1949, edited by R. M. MacIver, there are some startling facts which every Negro and white person should weigh and consider.

The book points out that in the South 13 per cent of the whites have graduated from high school; only three per cent of the Negroes of the South have graduated from high school. Five per cent of the population of the white South are college graduates; whereas only one per cent of the Negroes of the South are college graduates.

In the South three per cent of the whites have had less than one year of schooling: where-

as 14 per cent of the Negroes of the South have had less than one year of schooling.

* * *

THE PEOPLE WHO know their alphabets but can not discern the meaning of words are called functional illiterates. By this definition, 12 per cent of all whites in the South are functional illiterates; 37 per cent of the Negroes of the South are functional illiterates.

You recall that in my column of May 20 I insisted that as we preach about the great progress the South is making in race relations we should also know how long it will take the Negro to catch up with his white neighbor in the area of segregated education.

The chapter in MacIver's book, written by Theodore Brameld, we find these facts: "Considering the rate of progress made by the Negro schools in the past fifteen years, it will take thirteen years for the Negro high school teachers to reach the salaries of white high school teachers of the South.

"It will take twenty-nine years to equal expenditures for actual instruction. It will take 129 years to equal the value of school property. And it will take 230 years to equalize the per capita transportation cost of Negro and white children." These factors must be considered when we boast about progress.

* * *

IT IS A well-known fact that "in proportion to each racial population, there are five times as many white doctors as Negro doctors; four times as many white dentists; thirteen times as many white pharmacists; thirty-six times as many white lawyers; four times as many white social workers; 202 times as many white engineers."

If the Negro teachers in Chicago were in proportion to the Negro population, there would be 2,000 Negro teachers rather than 300. We need to run faster and work harder.

MAYS

If a College Graduate Can Meet the Tests of Competition, His Degree Will Prove an Asset

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

Courier

Sat. 6-10-50 Pittsburgh Pa.

THOUSANDS of students will receive their college degrees this month. A few are brilliant.

A much larger group might be considered good students, perhaps very good. But most of them have average records and, maybe, average minds. Many of these young people are going to be greatly disappointed. Their college degrees do not necessarily mean jobs and success.

Dr. Mays

The world is no longer excited because one has a college degree. Even a Ph. D. degree is not exciting any more. The Ph. D. is not as highly rated now as an A. B. was in 1900.

* * *

THE MAIN TESTS of the degree today, as always, are what you can do, how well can you do it, how much character have you, and how well can you get along with people on the job! If a college graduate can meet these tests, his degree will be an asset.

Of course, I know that a college degree still pays financial dividends. The college graduate's chance of success is much better on the whole than that of a person without any formal training. My only point is that college graduates are many, and exceptional people are rare even among college graduates.

I am trying to say that I hope the college graduate of 1950 will not take his degree too seriously. He must deliver acceptably to a public that makes great demands upon him.

* * *

EVEN THE exceptionally brilliant graduate must not rely too heavily upon his exceptional mind. Twenty-five years from today the steady, honest plodder may be as far along as the smart graduate. And it is not my purpose to do homage to mediocrity, either.

By and large, though, with some exceptions here and there, the graduate of 1950 will be in 1975 pretty much what his four college years have revealed.

The good student, backed up by other necessary qualities, will go further in the world than a poor student.

* * *

THE FELLOW WHO never did discipline his mind to study in college will hardly discipline it in graduate or medical school. In fact, he may be knocked out of the university before he has had time to discipline his mind.

It will be too late when he gets to the university to do what he should have done in high school or college. Life is so constituted that one needs to make every day count because a person is seldom able to reach back into the years and make amends for neglects and delinquencies. Every day brings its own urgent problems that must be faced and, if possible, solved.

* * *

THE GRADUATE OF 1950 will meet tougher competition than those met who were graduated in 1900 or even those who were graduated in 1925. It is quite difficult, for example, for a student to make medical school today.

There are many students with an average of B who will never get in. There are too many better records to take men with B averages or less. Many men who would make good doctors will never have a chance to study medicine.

The competition for medicine is ten times keener than it was a quarter of a century ago.

So every lick we strike to help improve the educational opportunities for Negroes is a step in the right direction.

* * *

EVERY MOVE WE make to get the Negro student to understand that he has no time to play around will be a step in the right direction. It is still true, as I have said many times before, that he who starts behind in the race of life must forever remain behind or run faster than the man in front.

We started behind in this race, so we must allow no sand to burn under our feet as we prepare to meet tomorrow's competition.

Make no mistake, our competitive pace must be speeded up and it will be great if the graduates of 1950 will make their contribution at this point.

MAYS

We Are Still 2nd-Class Citizens According to the Land's Highest Tribunal, The U. S. Supreme Court

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

Courier

SOME weeks ago in The Courier I tried my hand at prediction. I tried to foretell what the Supreme Court would do in the Henderson Case, the Sweatt Case, and the McLaurin Case.

My prophecy was pretty good.

I predicted the curtain would go.

I stated that the Court would declare the law school at Houston unequal to the one at the University of Texas.

Dr. Mays

I was in doubt about the McLaurin Case, but I did point out that education under segregated auspices at the University of Oklahoma is unequal education. I did not visualize that the Court would order the University of Texas to accept Sweatt nor did I visualize that the Court would rule against segregation once a Negro was admitted although I knew that segregated education on a University campus is unequal.

Sat. 6-24-50 Pittsburgh Pa.

Negroes throughout the country are rejoicing and they have a right to rejoice, but we must not deceive ourselves. The Supreme Court is still saying that separate education is legal if it can be proved that it is equal. The Court refused to say that segregation is discrimination. The Court also refused to make any sweeping pronouncements.

The judges stuck to the cases before them. It still means that a Negro would have to sue if he were refused admission to the medical school of the University of Georgia. It means that in the highest tribunal of the land we are second-class citizens.

* * *

SWEATT WON HIS case because the law school at Houston is not as good as the one at the University of Texas. McLaurin won his case, not because he was segregated, but because his education was unequal under segregated auspices. Henderson won his case because the curtain violates an Interstate Commerce Act.

Justice Burton stated that "The right to be free from unreasonable discrimination belongs to each particular person." The Interstate Commerce Act which the curtain violates prohibits "any undue or unreasonable prejudice to any persons using the railroads."

It is clear to me that the Supreme Court in hedging on the question of segregation is doing so out of respect for the attitudes of many Southerners on the subjects. Eleven states joined in presenting briefs against the cases of Sweatt and McLaurin. It seems that the Supreme Court is determined to move just a step ahead of what it conceives to be the public opinion of the South.

* * *

EVERY JUSTICE OF the Supreme Court knows that legalized segregation is an act of discrimination. The Court probably fears a revolution in the South if segregation is abolished altogether. If the Court thinks this, I believe the Court is wrong. There will be no revolution in the South when segregation is abolished. Southern people will take non-segregation as the North is taking it.

The Supreme Court has no right to fear revolution in the South.

Although the Court hedged on segregation, these three decisions dealt a mighty blow to segregation. They cracked the wall of segregation so badly that it can never be repaired. There is no segregation in Pullman travel and none now on the Dining Car especially none on the Southern Railroad. Other roads will probably abide by the decision.

There is no segregation in coaches going from New York into the South. The McLaurin Case is more significant than the Sweatt Case. The Supreme Court came very close to outlawing segregation when it says that McLaurin cannot be segregated once the University of Oklahoma accepts him. To segregate a man in the University is to deny him equal education.

* * *

IF THE SOUTH were wise, it would hail the decision as a great victory for the South. Vinson who wrote the Sweatt and McLaurin cases and Justice Reid are from Kentucky. Clark is from Texas and Black is from Alabama.

The decisions were unanimous. The South can justly share in the semi-liberalism of the Court. But many people of the South are so blind in their prejudice that they cannot rejoice in any step toward justice and democracy.

MAYS

Segregation as a Law Resulted in Lynching's Establishment as a Southern Practice

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

I KEEP harping on legislation and discrimination because all over this country people are saying legislation cannot remove prejudice and discrimination. But it can not be denied that certain kinds of legislation breed prejudice and discrimination.

Although the Supreme Court did a pretty good job recently in the Sweatt, McLaurin and Henderson Cases, it did not say that segregation itself is discrimination. The South has made much of this fact.

Dr. Mays

If the highest court can imply that segregation is all right if it is equal segregation, then the highest court can also be used as a source of discrimination.

Segregation has been established in the South through legislation. And from segregation most of the evils of discrimination have come. Legislation created segregation and segregation created the billion dollars worth of injustice in education of which I wrote last week. Legislation says there must be separate library facilities.

Segregation says that the separate library facilities for Negroes must always be inferior to those provided for whites. Legislation says that parks and playgrounds must be separate.

The practice of segregation says the playgrounds and parks for Negroes must be inferior.

THERE MAY BE many reasons why lynching developed as an American institution. But one reason is the fact that the Negro was segregated by law. It is not an accident that lynching became an established practice in the South when segregation was being established by law.

In many areas, segregation was a reality by 1900. In every area of the South, it was in the process of being established in 1900.

In that year, 1900, there were 115 lynchings in the United States. It is my firm conviction that there would hardly have been any lynching in America had there been no segregation by law.

* * *

MILTON R. KONVITZ, writing a chapter on Discrimination and the Law in the book, "Discrimination and National Welfare," edited by R. M. MacIver, says: "The law is a source of a good deal of discrimination.

"Segregation in educational facilities exists because our courts, disregarding the facts of life, have held that segregation is not discrimination within the meaning of the due process of equal protection clauses of the Constitution. Segregation in places of public accommodations—inns, hotels, trains, buses, theatres, etc.—exists because the courts have held that the definition and scope of civil rights are matters for the states and not for the Federal Government, and because further, the courts have held that while the Constitution has outlawed slavery, it has not outlawed the badges of slavery, such as jim crowism."

In other words there can be no denying the fact "that the law itself has placed the Negro in a position of inferiority."

* * *

THE SAME IS true in South Africa. The racial situation is the worst in the world in South Africa primarily because the laws of South Africa have made the Negro an inferior being.

Wherever the law, the Government circumscribes a man, he is circumscribed indeed. Next to the law is the church. The Dutch Church in South Africa justifies its racial policy on the basis of theology and religion. Here in America, we have the Federal Constitution on our side and no religious body in America justifies our racial policy from Scripture or theology.

If these observations about the law are right, we can well rejoice when the Supreme Court strikes a blow at a law which is discriminatory. If a bad law can breed prejudice and discrimination, a good law can breed good-will and justice. Things can be changed by legislation. Kentucky has already pointed the way.

* * *

IT TAKES A long time to get a bad law changed, but the Negro's greatest weapon of defense is the United States Supreme Court. Let us use it. There the nine judges, be they Southerners or Northerners, are free and can interpret the law without fear of consequences.

MAYS

The Southern States Passed Their Laws And Straightway Began To Violate Them

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

SHORTLY after the Supreme Court handed down its decisions in the Sweatt, McLaurin, and Henderson cases, Mr. Barrett wrote an article for the Associated Press.

He estimated that it would cost the South one billion dollars to equalize educational opportunities for Negroes. The estimate for Georgia alone ranges from $100,000,000 to $175,000,000.

Dr. Mays

This is a revelation. It reveals something terrifying about man and about human nature. The Southern States made the laws themselves. They said in the laws, "the schools must be separate but equal."

THE SOUTHERN STATES passed their laws and straightway began to violate them. Since in most of the states no serious effort was made to make the separate Negro schools equal to the white schools, it is safe to conclude that these states had no intention of making the Negro schools equal.

I state again that the person in power who believes in segregation has no desire to make the Negro schools equal. Even if he has such a desire, I doubt if his white constituency would let him make them equal. One of the objects of the segregated Negro schools is to set them aside so that it will be easy to give them less than the white schools receive.

This fact of inequality is a gross reflection on the character of the white South.

* * *

IF THIS WERE all, it would be bad enough. But if we add to this billion other millions resulting in what it would cost to equalize library facilities, park and recreation facilities, transportation and other segregated facilities we might easily have another billion dollars.

In travel alone Negroes have been robbed of millions of dollars by being charged the same fare the whites were charged while giving Negroes inferior accommodations.

Even if through some miracle the South could spend today a billion dollars to equalize educational opportunities for Negroes, the Negro has, in addition, been cheated out of other millions which would have been required to keep the buildings equipped and repaired and still other millions which the Negro did not receive because of salary differentials.

In the area of education alone, I believe the Negro has been cheated out of many billions of dollars.

If this were all, it would be bad enough. But this pattern of segregation and discrimination has crushed the spirit and soul of the Negro. Many of them who might have aspired to higher things never did. Many of them who might have given the South something new in creativity never had a chance.

* * *

IT MADE THE Negro a coward and a hypocrite. It also damaged the soul of the white South. In many instances it has made some white people inhuman. It has often made the white man dishonest and unjust.

In the courts of our native South he has felt obliged to deal out one justice to the Negro and another to the white man. It has imprisoned the mind of the white South.

In the main, the scholar in the South has not been free to pursue truth and proclaim it. Wherever the Negro was involved, he has had almost invariably to begin with a bias.

But there is a deep tragedy in all this. Even if we were in the South under the pressure of the Supreme Court would amend our ways and correct our injustices, the wrongs of the past can never be righted.

* * *

THE NEGRO GENIUS, whose creative mind never had a chance to be trained and who now is dead is lost forever to the South and to the nation.

We here in the South may repent of our sins and a merciful God may forgive us, but the damage is done and even God can not change the fact. The man who commits murder may repent of his sin, but the man he killed is dead forever.

MAYS

South African Reformed Church Finds Few Who Support Nation's Race Theory on Its Natives

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

I AM here at Emmanuel College, one of the colleges that go to make up the University of Toronto. It is the third meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches which was organized in the Netherlands in 1948. The Central Committee, made up of ninety persons, meets every year and carries on the business of the World Council which meets every five years.

Dr. Mays

This is my seventh world gathering: Mysore, India, in 1937; Oxford, England, in 1937; Stockholm, Sweden, in 1938; Amsterdam, Holland, in 1939; Amsterdam again in 1948; Chichester, England, in 1949, and Toronto, Canada, in 1950. Perhaps the two hottest issues here are the Korean War and the race problem in South Africa.

In all seven world gatherings, we have had representatives of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa or somebody else expounding the cause of the Europeans in South Africa. With complete consistency, it is the same old story. The races of South Africa must be kept separate. It is for the good of the Bantu themselves that they be segregated.

* * *

THIS TIME IT is a defense of Apartheid (complete separation of the races in everything). All racial groups will live in their own territory — no contact at any point. This will apply to Bantu (black people), colored people (mixed), the Indians, and the Europeans. It is this system that the South African representatives is defending here at the Central Committee. He has few, if any, disciples here.

His arguments will sound familiar to Negroes in the United States. It is best for the Bantu that they be set apart and allowed to develop their own civilization. And yet representatives of 2,000,000 Europeans made the decision, and the 8,000,000 Bantu had nothing to do with the laws that are made to move them out to themselves. It is so hard for human beings to be honest.

The Dutch of South Africa

know full well that they are not concerned with the welfare of the Bantu. They are primarily concerned with trying to protect the interest of the white man in South Africa.

* * *

ANOTHER ARGUMENT will sound familiar to my readers. The Dutch of South Africa always urgue that outsiders must not interfere. It will make the situation worse.

They argue that any outside criticism will work against the Bantu. They insist that they must be left alone. Only South Africans can solve the problem, and they have the answer. How often we heard that argument! But South Africa cannot be let alone.

It is a part of the world situation and as long as South Africa moves backward in race relations and acts like uncivilized people, the country will be criticized and ought to be.

* * *

OUR REPRESENTATIVE from South Africa says that no political party is opposing Apartheid except a few Communists. If this is so, it is a sad commentary on South Africa, especially the Dutch Reformed Church which is supporting this policy and attempting to justify it on the basis of religion and theology.

It is conditions such as this one in South Africa that Communists thrive on. Everywhere else in the world racial conditions are getting better. But in South Africa, the situation is deteriorating. Only God knows the outcome.

* * *

ONE FACT IS clear. The complete separation of the races will never solve the South African problem. Even the white industrialists who want to exploit the Bantu with cheap labor will oppose the system. It will breed hatred, ill will and distrust. It can hardly work. It is another case of how the human mind can be used to justify its prejudice.

The Dutch of South Africa can quote Scripture to justify his claim. He can argue that the Bantu are heathens. He can argue that complete separation is for the natives' own good, and that complete separation is the only way out. Nobody seems to see any hope for South Africa. But some day the light will break there, however costly it may be.

MAYS

In Twelve Short Years The Negro Has Come a Long Way Through the Supreme Court Decisions

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier.—The Editors.)

IT WAS IN 1938 that the United States Supreme Court ruled that the University of Missouri had to admit Gaines to the law school of the university. When the NAACP started that fight the Negro world was divided. It was the same old song—"This isn't the time."

Dr. Mays

The thing that human beings never seem to learn is the fact that nobody is wise enough at a given moment to pass final judgment on the events of that moment. What seems to be unwise at a given time often turns out to be the wisest thing that could have happened. See what happened in twelve short years, since the United States Supreme Court ruled in the Gaines case!

In twelve short years Negroes are now admitted to the universities of Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Texas, West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. Now the Attorney General of the State of Tennessee says that Negroes can be and will be admitted to the dental, law, and graduate divisions of the University of Tennessee.

* * *

AND IT IS officially rumored that Governor - Elect Byrnes of South Carolina says that Negroes will be admitted to the University of South Carolina under his administration. It is also a fact that Negroes are now being admitted to the undergraduate schools in Kentucky.

Let the ultra-conservatives and the unduly timid ponder this situation. They should ponder it from three angles. In the first place, most of these gains have come about either through court action or because some states were wise enough to see the handwriting on the wall and went forward and did the decent thing. These gains were not altogether freely given.

They were won the hard way. Freedom, rights and justice are seldom given because it is the right thing to do. One must be willing to pay a great price for freedom and progress. It has always been that way and as far as my finite mind can peer into the future it always will be that way. And those who are not willing to make sacrifices for freedom deserve to be slaves.

* * *

IN THE SECOND place, these changes have been made with a minimum amount of friction and social upheaval. There has been no rioting in the University of Oklahoma and none in the University of Arkansas. In fact, none in any of the universities that have recently admitted Negroes. In other words, the mores and customs are not eternal. They can be changed, and after they have been changed the sun, the moon, and stars continue to move in their courses, taking no cognizance of the changing mores.

In the third place, we should note again that any movement that is essentially right will get considerable support from the people once someone has had the courage to make the pronouncement. It is hard to fight that which is obviously right. A person must be beyond redemption indeed who would honestly argue that a man's education must be inferior because his skin is black, red, or brown.

I must forever believe that the universe is on the side of right. "Thrice is he armed who has his quarrels just."

* * *

TWELVE YEARS AGO there was complete segregation in all branches of the United States War Service—Air, Navy, Army, Coast Guard—everywhere. Today segregation is almost a thing of the past in Uncle Sam's Army. There has been no upheaval. Even the Southern officers have admitted that integration is working.

Twelve years ago a Negro could eat in the diner on the railroad only before or after white people had eaten. Today they can not only eat but the curtain is a relic of the past. Twelve years ago the Negro was disfranchised in almost the whole of the deep South.

Today he is voting all over the South even in Mississippi, South Carolina and Georgia. Why should we be so fearful of changes when they are taking place before our very eyes every day, without bloody revolution? I must say again and again that we fear most the things that never happen.

MAYS

The Atlanta School Suit Poses a Question Not So Much of Equality But of High Principle

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier.—The Editors.)

THE NEW suit which some 200 Negro school children and their parents have filed in the United States District Court against the Atlanta School Board is a new departure in fighting the battle for equality.

The plaintiffs charge that the Atlanta Board of Education is violating the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution in enforcing separate schools for whites and Negroes. This is the first time that the laws of segregation have been attacked in a major city.

Dr. Mays

"The suit seeks a permanent injunction to keep the Atlanta Board of Education from denying Negroes the 'rights and privileges of attending public schools where they may receive educational opportunities, advantages, and facilities equal to those afforded white children in the city of Atlanta'."

* * *

THE PLAINTIFFS ALSO request a "final judgment and decree" by the Court declaring segregation in schools here a violation of the "equal protection of laws guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment."

Governor Talmadge announced immediately that he would throw the full resources of the State Government behind the Atlanta Board of Education in fighting the suit. There may be some Negroes who will argue that the time isn't ripe to file a suit which goes beyond equalization and asks for the abolition of segregated schools.

There are those, Negroes and whites, who have already said the time isn't ripe. Here I raise the question, when is the time ripe and who is wise enough to know that this specific time isn't ripe. Only time can tell whether this is or is not the time.

* * *

BUT I DO know that there have been those in every major effort to free mankind of sin and injustice who have cried out "this isn't the time." This was said of those who spear-headed the revolution. Only a handful of people believed that the Revolutionary War would end in a free country.

The Atlanta suit is slated toward an attack on segregation not because Negro parents want their children to go to school with white children. To argue this way is to miss the point entirely. Negroes opposed the curtain in the dining car not because they wanted to eat with white people, but because they objected to the humiliation which the curtain brings and because they oppose segregation per se.

Negroes have a growing conviction that it is impossible for Negroes to have equality under segregation. They are beginning to believe that the only way to have equality is for Negroes and whites to go to the same public schools. It isn't association with white people Negroes are seeking. It is equality they are seeking and they believe equality is impossible under segregation. This is what lies behind the Atlanta suit.

* * *

NOW WHAT IS the basis of this pessimism? The basis is this: He who believes in segregation by law believes in inequality. As long as one group makes the laws and administers them and as long as one group has all the power and administers it, that group cannot provide equality of educational opportunities for another group that has no part in the making of the laws and no part in wielding the power.

Men are not that good. It is this conviction that lies back of the Atlanta suit. The Negro has sufficient history behind him to warrant this skepticism.

The Atlanta Board paints an impressive picture of the improvements that have been made in the Negro schools of Atlanta since 1944. The papers also make much of that improvement.

But the board has never given any comparative figures to show the improvements in the white schools since 1944 and they give you no figures to show how long it would take to bring the Negro schools up to the white schools. The fact that the board has never produced statistics to show these comparisons leads me to wonder why. Are they afraid to make these comparisons?

MAYS

Advises High School Students to Enter College Because a Miracle May Happen

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier.—The Editors.)

THE United States Army is drafting men between the ages of nineteen and twenty-six.

This war is upsetting and unsettling the mind of the 1950 high school graduate who is contemplating college.

Dr. Mays

It is the boy who is decidedly under nineteen to whom and for whom I write this article. If you are graduating from high school at sixteen, you have three years before you will be drafted; two years if you are seventeen and one year before if you are eighteen. Since war is on in Korea, which I believe is the beginning of World War III, you may wonder what you should do. Work, go to college, or, if you are old enough, volunteer?

My advice is go to college if you had already planned it. Here are four reasons why you should go to college:

1. A miracle may happen. I say a miracle because unless the United States and Russia give in somewhere, we are in for a long war. And since nations feel they must save face, I fear neither the United States nor Russia will have wisdom enough to see that some concession can be made without losing face. But a miracle, though remote, is possible. The war may end and could end before you are nineteen. If this should obtain, you will be in a position to complete your college work without interruption.

2. If this turns out to be an extended war, it will be better to enter the Army with some college training to your credit. You may enter with anywhere from one to three years of college work. And if you are a very exceptional boy who finished high school at fifteen, you can finish your college work by the time you are nineteen. The advantage of getting in some college work before entering the Army lies in the fact that you will be in a better position to get promotions when you do enter the Army. And since somebody must do certain preferred jobs, the best trained soldier is likely to get the preferred jobs. You might as well be prepared to get whatever break may come your way when you are drafted.

3. There is a third reason why should go to college. Suppose you are seventeen years old and suppose the war lasts for five years or more. If it does you will come out of the Army at twenty-two. If the war should last seven years, you would come out at twenty-four. If you come out at twenty-two or twenty-four, marriage and a family will be staring you in the face. If you have no college work, it will be a long grind starting your freshman work at twenty-two or twenty-four, finishing college at twenty-six or twenty-eight. Then after that you may want to do graduate work or go to professional school. Suppose it is medicine! If you should go to medical school at twenty-six or twenty-eight, you will come out at thirty-one or thirty-three (including a year of interne). Certainly before you do all this you will want to get married and most of you will get married before you complete your work. If you get in some college work before you go to the army, you can shorten your college years after you return.

4. The fourth reason you should go to college is this. If you succeed in getting one, two, or three years before you go to the Army you are likely to be able to get all or most of your education on your return at Government expense. Suppose you spent five years in the Army and suppose you finished high school at sixteen and got in three years of college work before entering the Army. If this should happen to be the case you would have five years of Government support. You could then finish your one year of college and four years of medicine at Government expense. My advice is go to college next month.

* * *

FINALLY, IT WILL be very difficult for a young man twenty-two or twenty-four years old to start his college work as a freshman.

He is likely to feel that it is too late to begin. But if he has already begun, it will be easy for him to return to the college he left when he went to the Army. Then too, the better prepared a soldier is, the better work he will do in the Army.

MAYS

Herman Talmadge Isn't Playing Politics; He Just Doesn't Have Any Place to Put Negroes

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier.—The Editors.)

I AM NOT wise enough to know when a man is playing politics and when he is sincere and not playing politics. When people say of a man in high office that he doesn't mean what he says, I am inclined to doubt them. Either a politician means what he says or he is terribly dishonest. Uncoerced, any man is dishonest when he says what he does not mean.

This is true of the minister when he preaches what he does not mean and it is true of the teacher when he teaches what he does not believe. A good many people say Governor Talmadge doesn't mean what he does when his actions tend to stir up ill will between the races. Frankly, I am not wise enough to speak with authority on this point. But I do have an opinion.

Dr. Mays

I believe Governor Talmadge is sincere in his interracial attitude. I believe that he thinks that the Negro is not entitled to the same rights which white people are entitled to. I do not believe he is playing politics. I believe he is sincere when he does not allow a Negro to be named on the Georgia Committee of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth.

* * *

I BELIEVE HE is equally sincere when he refuses to appoint a Negro delegate to the White House Conference and does not allow a Negro to be named by the committee.

When the Governor says in essence that no one can represent Georgia except the citizens of Georgia who elect him, he means the white people of Georgia. He has no reference to the one million Negroes in the state.

In fact, when the Governor made that remark when speaking of the delegates to the White House Conference, he made himself synonymous with the two million white citizens because Governor Talmadge appointed the delegates and not the white citizens. I think it was Louis XIV who said: "I am the state."

* * *

I THINK GOVERNOR Talmadge fears the mixing of the races so much that he really believes that if he had appointed Negroes on the Georgia Committee it would have been a step toward breaking down segregation because the committee would have had to meet and Negroes and white people would have to sit down together in the same room.

This is hardly politics. It is a conviction. If the Governor had named a Negro as delegate to the White House Conference it would have enhanced his political position. It would not have hurt him with his friends and the liberal people would have welcomed it.

There is no need for politics when the welfare of Georgia's children is under consideration. The Governor has a Negro phobia. Not politics because his re-election is four years away.

* * *

THE GOVERNOR was not playing politics when he refused to accept representative Greer's suggestion that he appoint an interracial committee to study the interracial points of tension in Georgia with the view of doing something about them. I think he believes that if he appoints such a committee they would have to meet, confer, and sit down together and that means to him breaking down the bars of segregation.

I believe the Governor is sincere when he says things that contribute to keeping the Negro down and stirs up ill will between the races. When he goes out of his way to drag the Negro question into his fight to extend the county unit system to the general election, he is not playing politics.

His attitude toward the Negro is such that he cannot help but take a crack at him in season and out of season. Governor Talmadge is not playing politics. I believe he is sincere. Even if he is playing the Negro insincerely as a political football, he cannot play that role without his beliefs becoming synonymous with his actions. The Governor just doesn't like Negroes, period.

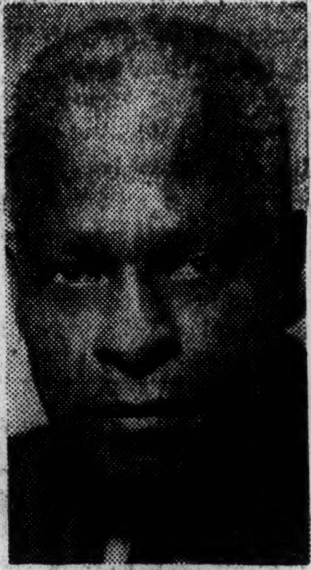
A New Day In Dixie!

Dr. Mays, White Passenger Forgot Color As They Ate Breakfast at Same Table On Diner Traveling Through Louisiana

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(President, Morehouse College and Courier Columnist)

ATLANTA—It was a beautiful Sunday morning Oct. 8, 1950, when I was en route to Southern University at the invitation of Dean Martin Harvey to speak at vespers that evening and to do the Honors' Day address the next day. I arrived in New Orleans too early for breakfast on the Atlanta train. I rushed over to the Illinois Central Station and boarded a comfortable train to Baton Rouge. Shortly after the train left the station I went to the diner for breakfast.



Dr. Mays

The diner was part lounge and part diner. There were four tables. When I went to the diner two men were seated, each at a separate table which seated four. The third table was not set up for serving. I sat at the fourth table alone. Three passengers were in the diner now, each passenger possessing a table.

* * *

SHORTLY AFTER I sat down, a fourth passenger came in. He looked at me with a look that seemed to say: Why are you here? He stood a few seconds gazing at me then he sat down at a table with a white patron. I was greatly mistaken when I interpreted his gaze because I thought it was one of disgust and prejudice. I was dead wrong as I have often been before in trying to read looks and faces. This gentleman sat at the table with the white passenger only a few seconds. He bounced up and came to my table and sat down. As a rule I speak to people who sit at my table in the diner. I soon discovered that he enjoyed conversation. We talked about many things, engineering, medicine, religion. We had not talked long before I learned that he was an extraordinary man—a man of intelligence and common sense.

We soon inquired of each other's occupation. He was an engineer on the railroad and had been for fifty years. He was 78 years old. He was proud of his age because he had recently been examined and the doctor found him in good condition. Of course he had to be in good condition since he was still driving the engine at 78. I understand from him that an engineer can continue to go as long as he is in good physical condition. I was curious to know something of his background. He was born in Virginia and I believe had lived in Kentucky. He has three children, all doing well. The race question was not discussed even though we sat for a good while after our meals were over. He went to school in St. Louis—Washington University and St. Louis University. For a while he studied medicine, but he had the wanderlust and always wanted to travel, so he didn't stick to his medicine. He has two sisters at the Mayo Clinic—both doctors.

* * *

THANKS TO THE Supreme Court in ruling against the curtain on the dining car. I would have never had a chance to talk with Mr. Sawyer if that humiliating curtain had been there. Mr. Sawyer would not have felt free to sit with me and even if he had wanted to he would have been up against a sinful law. I probably will never see Mr. Sawyer again, but I shall never forget the delightful conversation which we both enjoyed as we rode that beautiful Sunday morning between New Orleans and Baton Rouge. Two human beings met and enjoyed each other's company. It was not because he was white and I black. Color and race had nothing to do with it. We found something in common to talk about and I am sure we both forgot color.

It is silly to say that Negroes prefer to be with Negroes regardless of conditions and white people prefer to be with white people regardless. A Negro table mate may have been equally delightful, but hardly more so. I think my life is richer and I am free of race prejudice because I know, admire, and have among my friends peoples of several races and many lands. I wouldn't have it otherwise.

MAYS

Good Colleges Need Not Fear the Lowering Of Racial Barriers As a Future Threat

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier.—The Editors.)

PEOPLE are beginning to ask questions: When segregation goes, what will happen to private Negro colleges? What will happen to the Negro tax-supported institutions? One person asked me, "Will these schools have any students when the doors of the white schools are opened?"

Questions like these disturb me because I think I see something back of them that I wished was not there. At the risk of repeating what I have said in these columns before, I shall attempt to speak to these questions.

Dr. Mays

I hope my readers will pardon me if I make Morehouse symbolic of what I want to say. Given certain conditions when and if segregation goes, Morehouse will survive it. I believe we will have as many students as we can manage. If Morehouse can compete in at least three areas, we will have nothing to fear when segregation goes.

IF OUR FACULTY is first rate, our scientific facilities up to date, and if our library is adequate, Morehouse College need have no fear of the future. This will be true not only of Morehouse, but it will be true of every college in America be that college now mainly Negro or white.

If these conditions obtain, I stubbornly refuse to believe that as soon as the doors of white colleges are opened, all Morehouse students will seek admission to Emory; all Spelman students will rush to Agnes Scott; all graduate students at Atlanta University will file applications for entrance to the University of Georgia; or that Fisk must close when Vanderbilt opens its doors to Negroes.

If this should turn out to be the case, this would be conclusive proof that Negro students are indeed smitten with the inferiority complex and that they have no faith in their own institutions. Catholic University has opened its doors to Negroes, and yet Howard University is crowded with Negro students.

* * *

NEGROES WILL NOT go to Emory or Duke or the University of North Carolina just because they are staffed by white teachers and just because the students there are white. If they seek these schools, they will seek them because they think the teaching is better, the equipment is superior, the library facilities are more adequate, and because they can get courses there not available where they are now.

It will not be on the basis of race. Harvard is older, has more books, more scientific equipment, and possibly more prestige than Bates, Dartmouth, or Amherst, but no logical mind would argue that an A.B. from Harvard is better than an A.B. from Amherst, Bates, or Dartmouth.

The question is, "Is Amherst qualified to give a standardized A.B.?" This will be the question asked of all Negro colleges and all white colleges in a non-segregated society.

* * *

ONE-THIRD OF THE Morehouse faculty have earned doctorates from Harvard, Chicago, Wisconsin, Radcliffe, Cornell, Columbia, Rutgers, Cincinnati, Vienna and the Pacific School of Religion. The other two-thirds hold masters and religious degrees from institutions equally renowned. The teaching at Morehouse must be good teaching. It cannot be inferior.

What is true of Morehouse is true of many Negro colleges. The laboratory facilities and the library at Morehouse and at many Negro colleges are adequate for a first rate A.B. They are better than they are in many white colleges.

There will be Negro students in what were once white institutions. There will be white students in what were once Negro institutions.

THIRTY STATES ARE represented in the Morehouse student body—nineteen states outside of the South. The same can be said of other Negro colleges. Why did these Negro students leave the non-segregated colleges of the North to come to Spelman, Talladega, Howard, Bennett, and Clark if Negro schools will be emptied when Southern colleges open up?

MAYS

The Most Hopeful Area Of Human Relations in The South Is Still the University of N. C.

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier.—The Editors.)

FOR THE second time I have participated in a Religious Emphasis Week at the University of North Carolina. Frankly, there is something very delightful about the university. In most respects it does not differ from universities in the East and West. One feels free and at ease there. I have never run into any unpleasant experiences. The professors you meet are congenial and friendly. The students are a fine group to meet and know. In discussion groups, they appear as liberal as students I find on campuses in the North. And this is a significant statement because my guess is that the majority of the students are from the South.

Dr. Mays

I do not believe the fine atmosphere at the university can be attributed to students from the North. I meet Southern students who have gone a long way in their human relations thinking—as far as students from other sections of the country.

* * *

AS YOU MOVE around the campus they take you for granted. They ask pertinent penetrating questions about the South, religion and human relations. A person could go there and leave without knowing that there are still very conservative spots in the university. A few might be discussed.

I get the impression that the students in the University of North Carolina would readily accept Negroes in the university as fellow-students. I believe further that they would not only accept Negroes, but many would assume responsibility for making it pleasant for them.

I believe the faculty of the university would not object to Negro students. I believe the hold-back resides outside of students and teachers.

* * *

THAT THE UNIVERSITY of North Carolina did not lead the way in breaking down racial barriers in higher education is disappointing to me.

I never dreamed that the University of North Carolina which has spearheaded in the field of human relations would allow the Louisiana State University, the University of Arkansas, the University of Oklahoma, the University of Tennessee, and the University of Virginia to forge ahead of it in this aspect of higher education.

It is indeed strange. The University of North Carolina can hardly maintain its leadership in this area if it is to keep its doors barred to Negro students. It is the one university in the South that could admit Negroes with the minimum of objection from students and faculty. I believe the climate is ready.

* * *

THERE ARE OTHER areas of conservatism which one would not expect to find in the great University of North Carolina. In public gatherings where people from the community are expected, there is to be segregation.

Recently a meeting, where Kagawa of Japan was scheduled to speak, was moved from the university to a church in the city because the meeting had to be segregated if it were held on the campus of the university.

This means that the religious leaders who planned the Kagawa meeting were not in harmony with the university's policy of segregation. So there are many people in the university community who do not agree with this policy.

* * *

I UNDERSTAND FURTHER that Negroes are not allowed to stay in the Carolina Inn, where ordinarily, I believe, university guests stop. The Religious Emphasis people got around this problem by placing all eighteen leaders in private homes. Here again the religious people protested by not using the inn.

All these are areas where the university does not have to hold back. But as long as there are liberal forces at work in the institution there is hope that the University of North Carolina will soon regain its place of leadership among Southern universities.

Despite these areas of conservatism, I believe that the University of North Carolina is still one of the most hopeful spots in America for assisting mightily in solving the problems of human relations in the South. It is also hopeful that there are families in the university community who are willing to have Negroes as guests in their homes.

MAYS

The Iron Curtain In Railroad Diners Is as Much Imaginary As It Is a Reality

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier.—The Editors.)

I WAS at first elated and happy. I had taken trips in different sections of the South and had found the curtain gone and no effort to seat me behind a partition. I said to myself: "This is wonderful. I can now be treated as a human being and not as a sub-human. I can feel now as an American ought to feel and not as a Negro when humiliated by curtains and partitions."

Dr. Mays

I had always known that the United States was great, but I now saw America moving more rapidly than before toward implementing the fair play and the justice for which we stand in our Federal Constitution.

Frankly, I was feeling good and I was on the verge of writing an article on how noble and grand it is to walk into a dining car knowing in advance that I would not be humiliated and that I would be treated as a person and not as a Negro.

* * *

AS A WHITE American, an Englishman, a Frenchman, a German Nazi, an Italian Fascist, or a Japanese Fascist would be treated when he walked in to be served. But before I got around to writing my happy article, I took another trip and another, and came in contact with the imaginary iron curtain.

I knew then that the happy article I had planned would have been a half truth. It is always good to get as much evidence as possible before saying anything.

What is the imaginary iron curtain? It is the effort to seat Negroes at one end of the diner—to seat all Negroes together even when there are no white people in the diner or a very few white people in the diner.

* * *

IT IS THE policy to hold the end tables for Negroes and seat Negroes only there while one steward seats his white guests indiscriminately all over the place.

I have seen a steward bring a Negro woman who entered from the other end all the way through the diner to sit her at my table, passing not only vacant seats, but vacant tables as well at which no one was seated.

It is an attempt to get around the decision of the United States Supreme Court by establishing an imaginary iron curtain on the diner beyond which Negro passengers are not to be seated. Will there need to be another Supreme Court case to abolish the imaginary iron curtain?

* * *

THERE IS ALSO an imaginary iron curtain in the minds of some Pullman ticket sellers. It is not an accident that when a Negro gets a lower berth from a certain city, almost invariably it is lower one or two, lower eleven or twelve, lower nine or ten which are end berths.

If it rarely happened, it would be an accident, but when it happens almost every time, it is a planned policy on the part of somebody high up.

The practice is both stupid and unnecessary. When coming from the North, say out of New York, the berth is apt to be lower three, four, five, six or seven. The Negro rides into Atlanta or some point in Florida in the middle of the Pullman.

* * *

WHITE PASSENGERS never object. On those diners where there is no effort to keep an imaginary iron curtain and where Negroes are seated as other passengers are seated, the white passengers do not object. And even if they did object, they would stop objecting as soon as they knew what the company's policy is.

The prejudice is not so much with the traveling public, but with the officials of the railroads, and the dining car service.

As a rule the traveling public does what it is told to do. If white passengers can sit at a table across from a Negro and at a table in front of him, they can sit at a table behind him. And the same people will sit at a table with him in the North and some of them in the South. The imaginary iron curtain is both stupid and unnecessary.

MAYS

Students May Have To Show Us the Way In Reducing the Evils Of Athletic Proselyting

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

ON Jan. 13 and 14 the National Collegiate Athletic Association met in New York City. They were embroiled in a melee over its "Sanity Code." If I understand the "Sanity Code," it is a set of rules and regulations designed "to reduce the evils of proselyting and subsidization which admittedly infest collegiate football." The present "Sanity Code" is very liberal as it is. It permits colleges to give athletic scholarships to cover a player's tuition, fees, board and lodging.

Dr. Mays

• • •

DESPITE THESE GENEROUS subsidies which are legal, several colleges were cited for violations. In addition to these subsidies, some colleges and universities pay the players so much per month in cash.

The schools that were guilty of violating the "Sanity Code" were not put out and I understand that one school was almost arrogant in its violations. The colleges that assembled in New York to do something about over-subsidization and unfair proselyting got nowhere.

The violators had so many sympathizers that there were not enough votes to put them out.

What does it all mean? It means that top educators and even college and university presidents have a hard time being honest when money and the prestige of their schools are involved. They violate the rules and regulations like it's nobody's business.

• • •

IT IS SAD to admit but some of the school officials cannot be trusted to keep the rules. With many of them football is big business.

There are schools that do football business amounting to $500,000 or a million dollars a year. It takes a mighty unusual coach not to engage in unfair proselyting and over-subsidization when football can bring in hundreds of thousands of dollars a year and bring him prestige if he wins.

It takes an unusual college president not to wink at unfair practices when he sees the money come rolling in.

• • •

HERE AGAIN KEEPING a pledge or living up to a rule is no better among the educated than it is among the non-educated. There is no necessary correlation between honesty and learning.

It seems that many educated gentlemen in football cannot trust each other. They live in the same country and are friends. And yet we marvel at the fact that nations cannot trust each other. Even when presidents want to keep the rules they are impotent to do so.

Since adults do not seem to be able to clear out the football situation, it may be that the students can. There are many things students can do once they make up their minds. Wouldn't it be a reflection on professors and college presidents if the students rose up and said: "Let us be honest in our football dealings; stop over-emphasizing the winning aspect of football and let us get on with the business of education." Maybe it will have to come this way.

• • •

THE LEADERSHIP MAY have to come from "below." The level of preaching is being raised in our churches today, not so much because the preachers raised it voluntarily, but because the men and women in the pews are demanding more intelligent preaching.

The way out of the football fog may have to come from students. An echo comes from the senior students on the Yale University campus.

The Yale seniors have signed a "sort of round-robin statement" in which they are urging their university to de-emphasize football. I understand that some of the signatories are varsity players.

• • •

THESE SENIORS SAY "the intensity of university athletics has grown to a point inconsistent with the best interest of a well-balanced higher education." The Yale seniors are suggesting that practice and play be confined to two hours a day, and a twelve-week period.

They are urging that Harvard, Princeton, Dartmouth, Cornell and Columbia adopt similar standards and play only among themselves. These six constitute what is called the "Ivy League."

Although a little different from the Yale proposal of student leadership, there is the case of the students of Wake Forest College. A student organization known as the Honor Board expelled recently six star members of the Wake Forest College football squad. The six varsity students were found guilty of cheating on examinations.

• • •

WHATEVER MAY COME from the efforts of the young seniors at Yale and the action of the students at Wake Forest, it is wholesome to see students themselves assume leadership and responsibility.

It so often happens that students shy away from leadership when responsibility is involved. It is also true that students sometimes take higher grounds on important issues than their professors and presidents.

It may be that the students will have to show us the way.

MAYS

To Segregate Negro Friends at the Funeral Of a Minister Is to Take Advantage of the Dead

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

THE SOUTH has produced a few white liberals.

The South has produced a few white men and women who have lost social standing among their own people because they sought bravely to further the idea of interracial justice. I am thankful that I know some of them and count them among my best friends.

Some of them have been cursed and threatened by their own people because they dared to lift their voices against wrong and dared to act in dangerous racial situations. Negroes, and all Americans for that matter, should be proud of such people for they are working not for Negroes, but for white people as well.

Dr. Mays

• • •

THEY ARE WORKING to save the soul of America. They are working so that this democracy of ours, this Government "of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Now the question. What should Negroes do when the liberal white people die? They have friends among Negroes. In their life time, they lived and moved among Negroes as far as it was humanly possible on a non-segregated basis. They were and are foes to segregation and discrimination.

When they die, Negroes want to show their appreciation by attending the funerals. The relatives of the deceased usually want the Negro friends present at the funerals. But, almost invariably, here in the deep South, it is a segregated funeral. What should Negroes do?

• • •

SHOULD THEY ATTEND the segregated funeral? Let me be specific. A few years ago, M. Ashby Jones, a southern liberal, a gifted preacher, an eloquent orator, a crusader for interracial justice died. Doctor Jones by any measurement was one of America's great preachers.

He was a sane, cautious liberal. And yet he lost caste among his people because he pleaded for justice for the Negro. M. Ashby Jones died and at his funeral Negroes were segregated.

A few days ago, another great southerner, R. L. Russell died. During his retired years, he devoted all of his time to the Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation. He was a good man. His heart was in the right place. He was a Christian. And I believe when "The roll is called up yonder," Mr. Russell will answer "present." Negroes were segregated at this funeral. And some of the leading Negroes were there. Should Negroes have been there?

• • •

MY PERSONAL ANSWER is, "No." Negroes should not have been there under segregated auspices. And it is to the credit of one Negro leader that he walked out.

Let me defend my position. As I see it there are only two reasons for attending a funeral. One is to show respect for the person of the deceased and appreciation of his work.

The second reason is to help console the bereaved. And both of these can be obtained without attending a segregated funeral. I will come back to this in a moment.

• • •

I THINK THE protest against segregation must go beyond lip service. Negroes are loud in their codemnation of segregation. They say they hate it.

If this is so, they should accept as little of segregation as possible. They should choose the part of the "crow" they will eat. We should not choose the whole "crow." We should be "choicy" in our selection.

Segregation is law in the South. Of necessity, we must accept much of it. Negroes who must travel by bus, street car or train coach in the South are forced to accept segregation. Most of us must accept it in order to get bread to eat. But somewhere the Negro should draw the line. For example, to go to a segregated theatre is not a necessity. To go to a segregated church is not a necessity. To go to a segregated football game is not a necessity. To attend a segregated funeral is not a necessity.

• • •

IT IS NOT enough to fight against segregation legally and with words. We must also fight it by non-violent, non-participation.

I believe every white person, both prejudiced and non-prejudiced would respect this position. Part of our trouble lies in the fact that white people have no respect for us. They consider us children. Another part of the difficulty lies in the fact that we do not respect ourselves.

It would be a great thing if white peoples everywhere knew that there were some insults Negroes would not take.

• • •

TO SEGREGATE NEGRO friends at the funeral of a minister of Christ's God is to take advantage of the dead. I believe if M. Ashby Jones and R. L. Russell could have spoken, it would have been otherwise.

MAYS

Dixieland Moves Forward In Wake of Good News From Georgia, Mississippi And South Carolina, Too!

3-[illegible]

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

LAST week I wrote in praise of what the Kentucky Legislature did in amending the Day Law.

This week I want to report other encouraging signs on the interracial front.

Eric Sevareid, speaking over the Columbia Broadcasting System on Feb. 27, made some pertinent observations. He pointed out that there are 26,000 Negroes in the Air Force and that 71 per cent of this number are now completely integrated. They are sleeping, studying, working, and eating side by side with whites.

Dr. Mays

Courier

IT IS PREDICTED that in a few months, the other 29 per cent will be integrated. We are told that Officer and Service Clubs are without discrimination. Negroes and whites are together at swimming pools and dances.

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The mixing varies from place to place but it is going on all over the map. Here is the remarkable thing which I quote verbatim: "And in every place the transition has occurred with remarkably little trouble. Even Southern officers who personally do not like it tell the investigators, almost invariably, that the integration is working. There is less friction and not more.

It proves again that people who mingle and know each other seldom fight and hate each other. It is the fellow you do not know that you suspect and fear.

The same broadcast pointed out that "at the end of the war 95 per cent of the Negroes in general ratings in the Navy were confined to the stewards branch; today only 58 per cent.

* * *

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY of March 15 tells the story of Portland, Ore. The City Council has unanimously passed a resolution making it illegal for hotels, restaurants, or other public places to refuse service to anyone because of race.

"Violators of the ordinance may be fined up to $500, given a jail sentence up to 180 days, or both." Let those who argue it can not be done by law, sit up and take notice. The law may not cure one's prejudice. But it can restrain one from using the law to impose his prejudice upon others.

The students at the University of Minnesota were aroused during Brotherhood Week.

Two foreign students, one from China and the other from Surinam were barred from a public ballroom which university students patronized. Student groups are protesting it and are calling upon the management to change its policy. Again at the University of Minnesota, William McMoore, a top-ranking member of the boxing team, was left at home when the team went to Florida to engage the University of Miami.

* * *

THE GOVERNOR OF the state, Luther W. Youngdahl, called upon the president, James L. Morrill, to cancel the match.

The president did not cancel it but he made "a public apology to McMoore and promised that in the future the university will not schedule athletic contests 'under circumstances that might bar eligible members of its teams from participation'."

There is good news from Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi too. Last month the Dade County Sheriff John W. Lynch and Deputy William Hartline were sentenced to twelve months in jail and a $1,000 fine each in Federal Court.

The two men were convicted at Rome, Ga., "of a conspiracy to falsely arrest seven Negroes in Dade County and turn them over to a masked mob to be flogged."

* * *

THE OFFICERS CLAIMED they were intimidated and surrendered the Negroes while guns were held at their backs.

Judge Frank A. Hooper said: "You two gentlemen are officers of the law, sworn to enforce the law and to maintain peace. Yet you have been convicted of taking part in an unlawful occurrence where men took the law into their own hands. You claim you were intimidated at Hooker, yet you followed the masked mob on to Lookout Mountain. You did not interfere with what took place there."

Pittsburgh Pa.

MAYS

It Is Equally Foolish To Argue That the People Will Not Stand For Anti-Bias Laws

3-[illegible]

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

Courier

Sat. 4-15-50

I HAVE always maintained that if evil can be legislated, good can be legislated.

If we can establish discriminatory laws by legislative acts, we can repeal those laws through legislation. It is nonsense to reason otherwise. And it is equally foolish to argue that the people will not stand for legislation to remove discriminatory laws. The people stood for the discriminatory laws when they were enacted and the people will stand for non-segregated laws when they are enacted.

Dr. Mays

When people at the top, in high places, in responsible positions, argue that they would do certain things but the people will not stand for them to be done, they are simply reflecting their own views and giving expression to their own prejudices. By and large the people will follow leadership.

* * *

IT WASN'T THE people of Virginia who defeated the recent bill to abolish segregation on public carriers. It was the leaders. If the Virginia Assembly had passed the law, the people of Virginia would have obeyed the law.

Three cheers for the Kentucky legislators! Some forty years ago, a man by the name of Day succeeded in getting a bill enacted into law which prohibited Negro and white students from attending the same school.

Now this law has been amended and in due course it will be completely abolished. The moral weight of the universe is against segregation based on race or color. Recently the Kentucky Senate voted 23-3 to have the Day Law amended.

Following the Senate, the Kentucky House voted 50-16 to amend the Day Law. The Governor has signed the bill. Three cheers for Gov. Earle C. Clements! Let us analyze this amendment to the Day Law.

* * *

NEGROES CAN ATTEND so-called white institutions of higher learning in Kentucky under two conditions. These two conditions apply to both public and private institutions.

Firstly, Negroes might attend such institutions if their governing bodies approved. Secondly, they might attend the white institutions if comparable courses are not available in the Kentucky State College for Negroes in Frankfort. Representative Preston, a Democrat from Glasgow, argues somewhat against the bill by **insisting that the Day Law should be repealed entirely or the Kentucky State College should be built into an institution to offer Negroes equal educational opportunities.**

When the Negro Republican Representative, Jesse H. Lawrence, asked Mr. Preston how long it would take to make the Kentucky State College at Frankfort equal to white institutions in every respect, Representative Preston replied, "about thirty years."

* * *

WE MUST NOT **forget that the Day Law was amended by the Kentucky Legislature in 1948 which permits Negro physicians and nurses to take post-graduate study in the public hospitals in Louisville.**

Furthermore, a Federal court decision opened the University of Kentucky to Negroes for graduate and professional study not offered at Kentucky State College.

Kentucky has done something else. An amended Senate resolution says: "No Negro citizen of Kentucky shall be forced to attend any segregated regional institution to obtain instruction in a particular course of study if there is in operation an institution that offers the same course of study to students of other races."

* * *

THE LAW MAKERS **of Kentucky have spoken and I am willing to wager that the law will be obeyed, that there will be few if any unpleasant incidents, and that the soul and conscience of Kentucky will grow strong in Christian grace and in democratic principals. Three cheers for Kentucky!**

How strange! Tennessee and other Southern states will no doubt argue it cannot be done here. But when the law makers of other Southern states say it cannot be done here just remember they mean that they as law makers do not want it done here.

When the leaders get over their prejudices the people, the "masses" will get over theirs. Where the leaders lead, the people will follow.

MAYS

'Uncle Thomas' May Hold a College Degree From Morehouse or May Be From Columbia U.

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

LEADERSHIP is the sum and substance of progress or it is the sum and substance of failure and retrogression.

No people can rise higher than its leadership. I want to describe for thought, discussion, and meditation four types of Negroes who are in positions of leadership. There may be more, but I am sure of these four.

Mr. Mays

The first one is the leader that some people believe, erroneously, is no more. He was formerly labeled "Uncle Tom." Contrary to the opinions of many, he is not dead. He is a cat with nine lives—J. B. Blayton has dignified the title. It is not "Uncle Tom." It is "Uncle Thomas." This is much better. It gives "Uncle Thomas" the dignified title which he really deserves. "Uncle Thomas" differs from "Uncle Tom" only in one respect. He is better educated than "Uncle Tom."

* * *

HE MAY HOLD a college degree from Morehouse or an A. M. or Ph. D. from one of the greatest universities of the East and West.

He may be from Columbia, Chicago, or Harvard. "Uncle Thomas" has two outstanding traits. He is afraid and he is extremely selfish. He seeks in his every mode to please the white folk. He is physically afraid.

He is also afraid he will not hold his position nor stand well in the eyes of the ruling majority if he says or does something which the white people do not like. He usually finds out their wishes before he puts forth his program.

MINGLED WITH FEAR and awe of and respect for the white man, he idolizes that which is white. He just cannot stand on his feet and strongly express a point of view at variance with white people. Such a Negro could never refer to his wife as "Mrs." if he thought his white friends would object. His position is perfectly understandable.

But, "Uncle Thomas" is respected today neither by the whites nor the Negroes. His followers diminish year by year and this fact reduces his standing in the white world.

The second type may be called an opportunist. This leader differs from "Uncle Thomas" in one particular. He has considerably less fear and when pressed too far, he will stand and argue for his position. He will retreat only so far. He cares tremendously about the esteem in which Negroes hold him. He wants their respect. He resembles "Uncle Thomas" in that they are both greatly concerned with enhancing their own position and are tremendously concerned about their security. Although all men are selfish, these two are likely to have it in abundance.

* * *

THE OPPORTUNIST IN dealing with interracial affairs or working with other groups is likely to sit astutely quiet until he sees which way the members of the dominant group are thinking. He seldom takes the initiative. He lets the members of the dominant group carry the ball. He is cautious.

When he sees the way the current is flowing, he comes in with constructive ideas. He has the ability to think logically and constructively on the issues involved. He will seldom if ever take a strong position in opposition to that of his white friends. He is a good strategist and his timing is usually perfect.

The third type may be called the straight shooter. This type is also diplomatic but only in method and procedure. Since no one is wholly free of fear and selfishness, I can only say that this third type has less fear and less selfishness than the first two.

* * *

THE CAUSE OCCUPIES a larger place in his thinking than his own security. He believes that if the cause is right and just, if the motives behind his actions are pure and if he is free of hate, nothing but good can ultimately happen to him or the cause.

Believing this, he takes sane initiative in important affairs and trusts God and the future for results. This type seldom debates what will happen to him or his position. He has the faith to believe that if the position or cause is good and right, there are always intangible, unforeseen and unpredictable forces that will come to his aid.

He believes with Shakespeare that "Thrice is he armed who has his quarrels just." This type speaks not what he thinks is expedient and doth not necessarily do what he thinks will advance him. He is more concerned about what is true and right. I believe that in the long run this third type advances the cause more than the others.

There is the fourth type. This person may be called the "radical." He is the zealot that existed in Jesus' time among the Jews. He believes that more violent means must be used than we are now using if we are to get our rights.

* * *

HE HATES MEMBERS of the dominant group. He is full of distrust of the ruling majority. He may be swept off his feet by the Communist doctrine.

MAYS

Bulloch County, Ga., Has Launched a Plan Designed to Make Negro Schools Equal

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

SOMETHING interesting is happening down in Bulloch County, Ga.

They have launched a school equality plan designed to make Negro schools equal to those of the whites. It is probably an effort to do something before some Federal judge orders immediate equalization of white and Negro facilities.

Mr. Mays

Bulloch County Negroes have initiated a comprehensive survey of their "inadequate schools and of their needs, present and future." The county school board, the Statesboro school board, the county and city superintendents, and the State Department of Education are actively cooperating with the Negroes in making the survey.

ACCORDING TO THE Atlanta Journal "The survey will have three principal aims: (1) to show immediate steps to be taken to improve Negro facilities; (2) to show improvements that can be made before next September, and (3) to show what will be needed to make Negro education equal to white education and work out a long range plan for meeting that need." The survey will probably take several months.

It is admitted that it will take several years before all the recommendations of the survey group will be realized. But the local officials are hoping that this method will prevent a Federal suit.

Last October some "100 parents of Negro children filed formal petitions with both the city and county school boards asking that discrimination in school facilities based on race be eliminated."

* * *

NEGROES CONSTITUTE about 40 per cent of the population in Bulloch County and a majority of them seem to be willing to follow the survey route rather than seek Federal action now. It is obvious to all observers that the Negro schools are inferior to those for whites in almost every area. There are thirty-two Negro schools in Bulloch County.

Most of them are one and two teacher schools. There are four Negro junior high schools, all of which are poorly equipped. There is a high school in Statesboro. Negroes have the use of five "battered" buses for the junior pupils while there are forty-three buses for the white kids who go to the junior high schools. There are no transportation facilities for the Negro high school pupils.

Four subcommittees have been organized to survey the curriculum, to take the census of every child in the county, to survey the needs in plant facilities, and a subcommittee appointed to study administration and finance. A Negro is chairman of the survey committee and Negroes head all four subcommittees.

* * *

THIS IS A good gesture. The success of the plan will depend upon two or more factors. It will depend first of all upon the integrity of the white officials who have the power to equalize facilities. It will depend upon the fairness of the white teachers and the white community.

The white teachers and the white community must be fair and enlightened enough to want equality of educational opportunities for Negroes. If the officials are timid souls, as so many of them are, the "mass" white community can keep them from acting on the facts however impressive they may be.

The success of the plan will depend upon the thoroughness with which the committee do their jobs. Persons trained in making surveys are needed and we should assume that the members of the survey are competent. Since it is a survey conducted mostly by Negroes, who are making the survey. This is no time for timidity.

* * *

A SPADE IS a spade and should be so labeled in all studies of this kind. The recommendations should be fair in every particular, but they should not be too modest. I have known Negroes to ask for less than justice.

The success of the plan will also depend upon the time span. If the school officials act on the findings immediately and provide means of equalizing facilities so gradually that it will take them many years to do it, that will be tragic.

If this should obtain, the survey would turn out to be means of avoiding Federal suits and not a means of equalizing educational opportunities. Time is the essence of things. Sincerity must be the core of the plan.

* * *

THEN TOO, A thorough study of the white schools is necessary if the two school systems are to be compared as to equality. In a duel civilization one does not run a race by himself. The Negro schools in Bulloch County must be measured by the white schools in that county. We will watch and see what will happen in Bulloch County.

MAYS

Believes Talmadge's Dislike for Negroes Is So Strong That It Borders on Hate

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

WE have been having White House conferences since 1909. The one this year is the fifth.

It is called the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth. This conference will deal with the emotional, mental and spiritual aspects of a child's life. It should be a great conference and the cause of America's children and youth should be pushed forward.

Mr. Mays

As a member of the National Committee, I am fully conversant with the hopes and plans laid down by President Truman and the chairman of the conference, Oscar Ewing. After appointing the National Committee, Mr. Truman requested the Governors of the states to appoint state committees to work in cooperation with the National Committee.

THE GOVERNORS WERE also requested to make their committees representative of all the people within their states. Frankly, it was the hope of the National Committee, the President and Mr. Ewing that Negroes would not be barred from membership on the state committees just because they were Negroes.

Knowing that Negroes are all too frequently forgotten in affairs of this kind, I took it upon myself to write the President of the Negro state and land grant colleges to acquaint them with

the desire of the National Committee and to suggest that they keep in touch with their Governors and request them to include Negroes on the state committees.

Nelson Jackson of the National Urban League requested certain Urban League executives to be on the alert and do their share to get Negroes on state committees. Whether my efforts and Mr. Jackson's did any good, I do not know. I do know that every Southern state has Negroes on the state committees except Florida and Georgia and Florida may yet come through.

* * *

THERE SEEMS TO be no hope for Georgia having Negroes on the state committee. The Governor has made it clear that he wants no Negroes on the Georgia committee. The committee in Georgia is the Governor's Committee.

He says further that if any Negro group or groups want to report to the State Committee, they may do so and the Governor's Committee may accept or reject such reports in their entirety or in part. I understand that two Negroes were invited by the Governor through mistake to serve on the committee. I understand also that they have been informed that their appointment was through error and that they are not to serve. Remember that one-third of the population of Georgia is Negroes.

Honestly, I do not understand the Governor's point of view. From his public utterances, on the radio, on the public platform, and in the newspapers, I have reasons to believe that his prejudice against Negroes is deep-seated.

* * *

MY CANDID BELIEF is that Governor Herman Talmadge's dislike for Negroes is so strong that it borders on hate. But, it would have been a harmless and simple thing for Governor Talmadge to have appointed some Negroes on his committee. It would not even hurt him politically. On the other hand, it may have helped him politically.

Certainly there are many white people in Georgia who would have hailed with delight such a gesture. Negroes would have had one indication that the Governor wants to be fair and impartial when it comes to them. But there was no such luck.

I am sure the Governor of Georgia feels that he doesn't need the Negro and that he can be returned to office without his vote. He may be right. Time will tell. But Georgia's children and youth should not be a part of political strategy and should be victims of prejudice.

* * *

ONE-THIRD OF THE children and youth of Georgia are Negroes and I do not believe that the interest of all children can be served with an all-white committee. I say this because I believe the Governor's attitude toward Negroes will be reflected in the committee and the committee's findings.

MAYS

Fort Wayne Legionnaire Speaks Forty Minutes on Democracy; the Guest Couldn't Find a Room

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

JUST before leaving Atlanta, I received a telegram from a member of the committee in Fort Wayne that had invited me to speak there.

I was being invited to have luncheon with the committee because the local chapter of the American Legion was supposed to have documentary evidence that I had connections with un-American activity organizations.

Mr. Mays

I accepted the invitation.

I arrived in Fort Wayne at 2:30 A. M., got off the train at 3 A. M. and went to the white YMCA where a room had been reserved for me. On arriving at the "Y," the young man at the desk, through error, had let another have my room. So I had nowhere to stay. This young man called the Jefferson Manor Hotel about a block away. They said they had a single room and to send me around. But the young man did not tell the hotel clerk that he was sending a Negro.

* * *

WHEN I ARRIVED at the hotel, I was told that there must have been a mistake. I assured the gentleman that there was no mistake.

He then told me to wait a minute. I waited several minutes. The man did not return, but another man came and with him two policemen.

I think this man was the manager. He began to rave like a mad man about colored people, but the policemen requested that he keep quiet and let them handle it. When I told my story the officers became apologetic and wanted to help me find a room.

* * *

THEY TOOK ME back to the YMCA to find why I didn't get the room which had been reserved for me. The boy explained to them what he told me. They wanted to take me to a Negro hotel. But, I thought best to call the Rev. Phale Hale, one of our graduates. He came around 5 A. M. and took the man in who had fallen among policemen.

At 12:15 on Sunday, Feb. 12, I met the committee at lunch at the YMCA. An American Legion spokesman gave a forty-minute dissertation on communism and that we must be careful to keep this country free and democratic.

After his speech, the chairman asked if I had any reply to make. I told him I had none because nothing had been said to which I could reply. But I did ask questions.

* * *

I WANTED TO know if the Federal Government, the State of Indiana, or the city of Fort Wayne had authorized the local chapter of the American Legion to interrogate me. The answer was negative.

I then asked for the source of their authority. Of course they had none. I made it clear that I was under no obligation to be questioned by them. But my record with the YMCA was known from being on the local board of the "Y" in Atlanta, the Southern and national boards and for ten years a member of the World Committee of the YMCA and one time a student secretary.

And, as for my church connection, I was a Baptist minister, member of a Baptist church in Atlanta, one-time vice president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and now a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches. The Associated Churches and the YMCA had brought me to Fort Wayne.

* * *

FINALLY, ANOTHER member of the committee said one of the Senators from Indiana had made an investigation of me. Both the Justice Department in Washington and the Committee on Un-American Activities gave me a clear bill and so did the national YMCA.

At the end I told them of my experience with the hotel and the policemen and expressed the hope that they would be equally concerned about clearing up the hotel situation in Fort Wayne.

My address was well received. The check was larger than promised. The questioner from the American Legion is reported to have put $10 in the offering. Letters of deep regret have come from the YMCA and the Church.

* * *

I UNDERSTAND THAT the local people are investigating the situation with the intention of doing something about the conditions which I faced.

As a result, I hear that a few white persons joined the NAACP. If Fort Wayne becomes a little better place as a result of my experiences, I am glad I went to Fort Wayne.

I have every reason to believe that the young man at the YMCA made a mistake. The Fort Wayne YMCA does house Negroes.

MAYS

Albany State's 'Gator Is Like Some People . . . He IS Conditioned to Stay in His Place

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

I THINK a long time ago in one of my articles, I referred to the alligator that lives on the campus of the Albany State College in Albany, Ga.

I suppose he is still there.

As I recall an ordinary wire fence encloses the alligator. If he exerted himself a great deal, he could get out. But I understand that the alligator has been so conditioned that if the wire fence were removed and a cord fence put there, the alligator would remain inside the enclosure. The alligator has been conditioned to stay in his place. Some peoples are like alligators. They have been conditioned to stay in their place.

Dr. Mays

There are some Negroes who have been segregated so long that they have been conditioned to segregation and feel that segregation is their place. If the enclosed walls of segregation were removed, they would still move within segregated circles. These Negroes have perhaps accepted the idea that "white is white and black is black," and never the twain shall meet. They would probably not expect equality in separation.

* * *

THEY WOULD BE grateful if their separate schools were equal to the white schools, but they would not raise any sand if the white schools were better than theirs because they feel that what white people have is supposed to be better than what Negroes have.

In this context, Negroes who are so conditioned are always competing with Negroes, but never with white people. The Negro minister, for example, may be jealous of another Negro minister who seems to outstrip him; but he would never be jealous of a white minister who outstripped him. He would unconsciously feel that a white minister was supposed to outstrip him.

In this context, a Negro surgeon may be jealous of another Negro surgeon, but never of a white surgeon. He would feel that a white surgeon is supposed to excell a Negro surgeon.

* * *

THERE ARE STILL some Negroes who refuse to use Negro physicians, not because a specific Negro doctor is less competent than a certain white doctor, and not because the Negro doctor doesn't have access to hospital facilities. To them the white doctor is better because he is white.

This is one kind of inferiority.

The second kind of inferiority is the other side of the same shield. The Negroes who represent this type oppose, and rightly so, all forms of enforced segregation based on race or color.

They oppose segregated schools, churches, hotels, restaurants, businesses, and all forms of enforced segregation in government. But their method of getting rid of segregation is highly negative. They would destroy everything that Negroes have built up and everything that is run now primarily for Negroes and seek shelter in the "so called white world."

Integration into this group means the abolition of everything that Negroes own or control because in an integrated society nothing Negroes own or control is good enough to survive.

* * *

THEY WOULD ABOLISH all "Negro" fraternities and sororities in order that Negroes might join "white" fraternities and sororities.

They would abolish all "Negro" churches in order that Negroes might join "white" churches.

They would not abolish "white" churches.

They would abolish all "Negro" funeral homes in order that Negroes might be buried by white funeral directors.

They would seek to destroy all "Negro" newspapers and magazines that thrive now almost wholly on Negro patronage, because "Negro" newspapers and magazines are not good enough to survive in a non-segregated society. "Negro" banks and "Negro" insurance companies would close their doors because they are not good enough to live.

Likewise, all segregated Negro schools should be permitted to die in order that Negroes might go to the-at-present segregated white schools. Nothing Negroes own is good enough to live in a non-segregated society. Unconsciously, this attitude is an expression of inferiority at its worst.

There is a better way.

31a 1950 (Negro) John H. McCray

Freedom Of Press At Issue

Two of the principals in the impending South Carolina case in which the issue of freedom of the press is involved, are shown above. John H. McCray, left, editor and publisher of the Lighthouse and Informer, of Columbia, along with a white newsman, is under indictment in connection with stories written about the case of a 24-year-old South Carolina youth who was electrocuted following his conviction of a charge of rape.

Circuit Judge J. Robert Martin, right, may preside at the trial which has been set for the second week in April. Judge Martin presided at the trial of 28 alleged lynchers of Willie Earle in the Greenville County, S. C. Court three years ago.

Journal and Guide
Feb. 18, 1950

Ted Poston, Ace Reporter, Colorful Newsman

By EVELYN CUNNINGHAM

NEW YORK—Tall, skinny, pixie-ish Ted Poston is the nearest thing to a movie newspaperman you'll ever meet. He looks the part, acts the part, talks the part, smokes the part, drinks the part . . . and within the last couple of months he has copped just about every national journalistic prize a newsman can get.

An easy-going, sure-footed, ambitious, nervy guy like Poston doesn't stand much chance of losing on any kind of proposition. Around the New York Post, where Ted is top-flight reporter and rewrite man, there's a saying that "a white man ain't got a chance when Poston's on the job."

Poston, who was born in Hopkinsville, Ky., forty-three years ago, has been in and out of the Post since 1937. Between times he was with The Pittsburgh Courier and with some very big shots of the OWI in Washington. He started a space-rate stint with the Post shortly after he had applied for a reporter job. Walter Lister, then city editor, told him to get out and get an exclusive for the Post; then he would consider giving him a spot on space-rate basis. In two seconds Ted came back with the yarn of the process server who was attacked by Father Divine's angels because they objected to his bothering Father. Ted was on, at thirty cents an inch.

He cinched the job with the help of the late Huey Long. He was in the New Yorker Hotel, trying to run down an elevator operator who owed him $3. In the lobby he bumped into the Louisiana boss, escorted by a slew of guards, secretaries and flunkies. Ted snatched him, literally, talked fast, aroused the Senator's curiosity and then spent the next two hours behind closed doors with one of the most discussed men in the nation at that time. The Post was impressed.

Things are always happening to Ted Poston. Like the thing that won him second prize in the New York Newspaper Guild awards, that won him the George Polk gold medal for national reporting in the United States and most recently won him one of two Heywood Broun awards.

The thing was last year's Florida rape case that carried all the ugliness of a messy race situation. Ted asked for the assignment. They thought he was crazy. Even when they realized he meant it, they still thought he was crazy. City Editor James Graham, whom Ted insists ought to have all three awards, took a deep breath and gave his okay for Ted to get on the Florida case.

A few days later Poston was tearing out of Florida with a very mad bunch of people behind him. And in his heart and on a few scraps of paper in his pocket was the story that was to create a sensation in New York.

Only he couldn't write the story. The things down there he had experienced had hurt. He didn't want anyone to know. It was, he felt, an invasion on his dignity to let anyone know. For sixty-four hours City Editor Graham dragged the story out. He turned it down four times. Ted was all tied up in knots and couldn't loosen up. Finally Graham caught it. "Ted," he said, "put down in writing exactly what you told me over the phone from Orlando. Just the way you said it." That did it. And that's why Ted speaks of "our Broun award."

Just before the last national political conventions, Ted mentioned around the office that it didn't particularly matter to him which convention he was assigned to—"except the Dixiecrats, of course." So they assigned him to cover the Dixiecrat convention.

There was much secrecy surrounding the Dixiecrat activities and nobody could put his finger on them. Ted found out from an elevator girl in Philadelphia's Benjamin Franklin Hotel that the kids were meeting in Governor Thurmond's room. Ted went up, knocked on the door and faced Senator Olin Johnston of South Carolina. "Boy, whatta you want!" Flashing his credentials, Ted explained that he was assigned to cover the Dixiecrats. The Senator let Ted step into the room for a minute, then pointed out: "Now we aren't going to let you stay here. And don't think we're barring you 'cause you're cullud. We're just barring all reporters. But you look like a good boy, so I'm going to let you know just what's going on."

The Senator from South Carolina kept his word. Ted got

TED POSTON

. . . ace reporter is newsman's newsman

"beats" on the Dixiecrats and the solon took pride in introducing Ted to the people who were making the news. He would always say, "He's a real good boy!" Ted adds now: "And believe me, he was my boy!"

Poston is sentimental about his days with The Courier and his Southern tour for The Courier with Courier Theatrical Editor Billy Rowe. "Billy and I fought all over the South, but not a punch was ever thrown. We never could get together on when or where to fight. But you could bet your bottom dollar that every time we started to fight something would happen. One time we had our coats off when a woman jumps out of a window and almost falls at our feet."

Ted's wife, Marie, who insisted at this interview that Ted put on the "robe I gave you for Christmas," is a field examiner of the National Labor Relations Board. She's a "first" in her business and is quite a stunner to look at.

TED POSTON NAMED FOR HEYWOOD BROUN AWARD

Cited For Handling Of Fla. Rape Trial

NEW YORK—For the first time in its nine-year history, the Heywood Broun Award has been voted to two men for two separate entries. The winners are:

Herbert Block (Herblock) Washington Post cartoonist, and Ted Poston, New York Post reporter.

Each man was awarded a $500 cash prize and a citation by the American Newspaper Guild (CIO), sponsor of the competition, for the most outstanding journalistic achievement of 1949 "in the spirit of Broun."

Poston won recognition for his courageous coverage of a Florida rape trial which resulted in two Negro youths being sentenced to die and a third sent to prison for life.

Poston, a Negro, was himself forced to run for his life with another reporter and two Negro attorneys who defended the accused youths, and escaped a lynching party only after a fearful 40-mile flight in an auto over back country roads at 90 miles an hour.

After examining the 66 entries, the board of judges could not decide on a single winner and, after the field had been narrowed down to Herblock and Poston, recommended that each be declared a winner of a Broun prize. The Guild's executive board approved the decision.

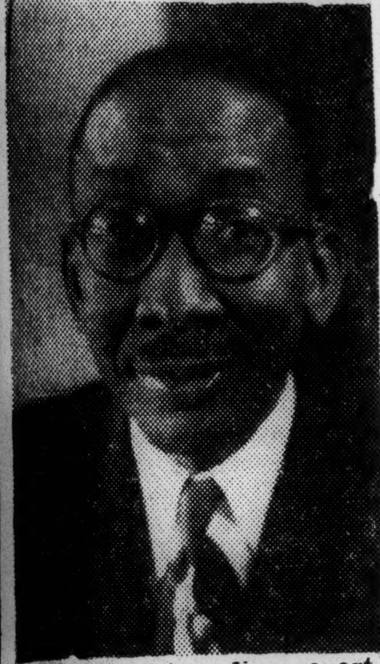
The award is given annually by the American Newspaper Guild (CIO) to honor the memory of Heywood Broun, crusading, liberal columnist, and a founder of the Guild. The competition is open to any newspaper man or woman in the Guild's jurisdiction and is not confined to members of the union. Block and Poston are members of the Guild.

The judges were Alan Barth, Washington Post editorial writer; John Hersey, New York writer; and Roland E. Wolseley, professor of journalism at Syracuse university.

Poston's story has been widely heralded as one of the most courageous efforts on the part of any reporter. The judges were impressed with this fact, and also with the quality of his writing and the restraint with which he reported the "Horror in Sunny Florida."

Ted Poston, Ace Reporter, Colorful Newsman

Ted Poston Wins Two Writing Awards



For his outstanding reporting on Jim Crow conditions in Florida, Ted Poston, veteran New York Post reporter, was recently cited with awards by two leading institutions. He won the George Polk Award for national reporting for his series on "Discrimination in Florida" and the Guild Foundation's second prize award of 1949, $400, for his stories on the Groveland terrorism. Seven Polk awards, gold plaques, were given for "the most notable examples of writing by metropolitan New York newspaperman."

By EVELYN CUNNINGHAM

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The Courier Salutes

POSTON and Post got together in much the same manner as ham and eggs, steak and French fries, or Scotch and soda.

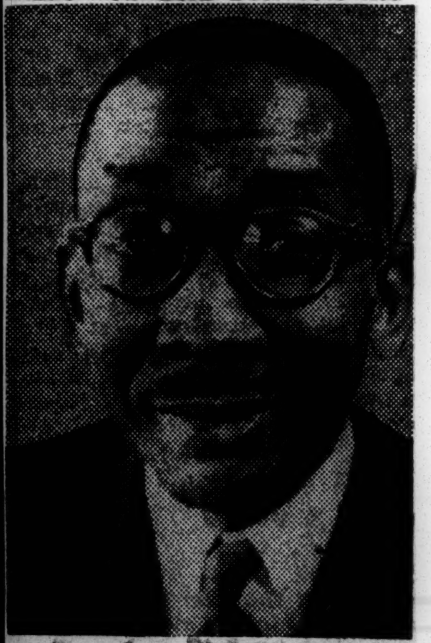
This affinity is due to the news-sniffing ability of this week's Courier salutee, Ted Poston, and the unprejudiced attitude of the management of the New York Post, one of Gotham's leading tabloids.

Ted has, no doubt, accomplished more in his brief career as a newsman than the rankest cub reporter could ever hope for. Having racked up most of the journalistic prizes available this year, Ted has proven to his admirers and employers that he has what it takes to do a good job, in addition to driving a few solid nails into the creaking joints of American democracy.

He is to be hailed to the skies, for his efficient work has smoothed the path for other would-be journalists of the future, who aspire to work on the big dailies of our national press.

Slender and affable, Ted never had to take Dale Carnegie's course on "how to win friends and influence people," . . . he just did what came naturally, and was a smash success with his fellow-workers and employer.

The New York Post does not



TED POSTON
. . . a few solid nails

regard Ted Poston as their ace "Negro" reporter. He is their ace reporter, period!

Our salutee, therefore, has given the lie to the old adage that a man can be judged by the color of his skin.

THE HORIZON

Lena Horne Life Story Is the Book To Give for Christmas

By P. L. PRATTIS

I AM against Christmas gifts that cost more than five dollars unless they are gifts which parents or other relatives give to children. Even then, I think the gifts should fill some need. I think the kind of instalment-buying Christmas-gifting in which people indulge is extravagant and that it spoils the true nature of Christmas.

You don't have to load yourself with debt in order to show your good-will toward a friend.

Mr. Prattis

I have found the perfect Christmas gift. It is the life story of Lena Horne, the songstress. This book, entitled "In Person, LENA HORNE," is published by Greenberg, 201 East Seventy-fifth Street, New York, N. Y. In cloth cover, the price is $3. In paper, the price is $1.50. Helen Arnstein and Carlton Moss collaborated with Miss Horne in writing this autobiography.

* * *

THIS IS THE book to make any person who has ever seen or known Lena Horne miss their meals. You don't want to turn this absorbing story of a battle against odds loose. You have seen, or known of, the glamorized Lena. But you have never been able to get close to Lena herself.

You have probably never known how she felt about anything. All you've seen or known has been the beautiful, talented Lena. You never knew, or suspected, that she had heartache, heartache for you.

Would it occur to you that Lena should regard herself as "ignorant," "unwanted," that she should be a lonely person, fearful to intrude upon the great? Would it occur to you that many, many times she has known the pangs of hunger, has walked the streets for miles and miles, job hunting, in order to save carfare?

* * *

WOULD IT OCCUR to you that discrimination has been an ugly ogre pursuing her all of her short life, macerating her mind and spirit?

Indeed not! You probably think this beautiful singer has had the easy life, that all good things came to her. You have probably wished you had her looks and her gifts. That would make it easier for you, you conclude. But don't jump to conclusions. You'd better find out about the kind of life she has had.

The Lena Horne disclosed in this story is a modest, sensitive, hard-working girl who has tried to overcome all the odds incident to being a Negro in the United States.

* * *

WHEN SHE WAS a child in Maimi, Fla., the other Negro youngsters called her "Yaller! Yaller!" and taunted her by saying she had a white daddy.

She comes from the finest of stock—on her mother's and father's side. Her mother loved the stage, the theatre — at a time when old and solid families looked down upon actors and performers. In spite of this, her mother tried for a career in the theatre at an unpropitious time.

Lena's attachment for the theatre took root in the early days when her mother broke her health seeking a secure positon in the theatre. Lena left high school in her second year to fight poverty.

* * *

THIS IS NOT a boastful story, nor one seeking sympathy. It is a plain story, in good taste, of how Lena lived, how she thought and how she was treated. It is an astonishing revelation of how bad off a good-looking girl can find herself.

However, the most important aspect of this book has to do with discrimination. Everywhere Lena turned, she found "color" in her way. She was either too colored or not colored enough. North and South, East and West, her color interfered with her existence.

She doesn't tell her story with bitterness, although, at times, she was very bitter indeed. It is because her story rings so true and is told without rancor that it will do whites who read it a lot of good. They won't be able to laugh her story off. They won't be able to excuse themselves and to say that she has a chip on her shoulder. They are bound to know she has caught them in the act.

* * *

IT WILL DO the soul of any Negro good to read this story about Lena Horne. But the people who really ought to read it are whites who are confused on the race problem and can't understand why Negroes feel like they do. They'll know after they've read this story about Lena. Lena Horne's story is medicine that ought to cure many racial maladies.

You will be helping yourself and the race if you give "In Person, LENA HORNE" to as many white friends as you can afford. After they've read it, they'll thank you and mean it.

THE HORIZON

Edith Sampson's UN Day Full of Activity, Uses Personality to Do Good Job

By P. L. PRATTIS

LAST week I wrote of my reaction when I listened to Mrs. Edith Sampson speak before the General Assembly of the United Nations on behalf of the U. S. Government and the American people. This week I want to tell you more about Mrs. Sampson's work as one of the American delegates to the United Nations. I want to indicate to you what she does, in part, and to try to describe how she plays her role. I want to show how she's in there pitching.

Mr. Prattis

Mrs. Sampson must arise early, not later than 7:30. She lives in a suite at the Vanderbilt Hotel, across the street from the Park Avenue building, where her office is located on the twenty-third floor. By not later than a quarter before nine she must be in her office to check with her secretaries and advisers on matters in process or matters that are coming up. This is done quickly and pleasantly, but firmly and expertly. Her mind is incisive, cutting rapidly through debris-laden issues to the solid ground she seeks. She makes up her own mind. The positions she takes belong to her.

* * *

MRS. SAMPSON HAS some eleven persons, exclusive of secretaries, who help her. They are researchers who dig for information and speech writers who produce speech drafts for her. These speech writers put neither words nor ideas into her mouth. They listen to her detail what she wants. They ask questions. She asks questions. Then they try to put on paper the points of view she has expressed. If they don't succeed the first time, they try again. They work at these speech drafts until they have what Mrs. Sampson wants. So, in a somewhat literal sense, the speeches are hers.

However, there is other help which Mrs. Sampson has—and all the other delegates. Each morning, they all meet with their special aides and with State Department advisers. These meetings are from 9 until 10 o'clock. During these periods, the position which the U. S. Government will take in respect to current agenda items is spelled out and the delegates are assigned specific current tasks. This does not mean that the State Department dominates the delegation, or that one delegate, or set of delegates, dominates others. This is a period of give-and-take, of thorough and frank discussion, of finding the way to the solid front for the U. S. Government.

* * *

AS A RESULT of these morning sessions, Mrs. Sampson emerges with the knowledge available to the entire delegation and the reasoning behind any position taken by our Government. No one has to worry about her being able to understand, to assimilate fine points of view, or to fear that she will ever lose her grasp. Nor should there be any fear that she will hesitate to express her own point of view.

I have learned from talking to other members of the delegation, such as Senator Sparkman and John Sherman Cooper, both Southerners, that Mrs. Sampson is making a contribution which they all appreciate. They pay sincere tributes to her.

* * *

WHEN ONE SEES Mrs. Sampson in action, the full nature of the contribution she makes can be appreciated. She possesses more than a quick and nimble mind. She is more than a good lawyer. In addition, she is a fluent, flexible person. She has an outreaching, but friendly, personality, which cannot be ignored. She is rarely at a loss for a word, the right word. She is quick to sense the mood and the reasoning of the other fellow—and to take advantage of it. She wants to make friends and she does.

There are persons who doubtless are much more learned in the field of political science than Mrs. Sampson. And there are more august personages, men whose very mien bespeaks scholarship, wisdom and dignity. But I seriously doubt whether they could do what Mrs. Sampson is doing.

* * *

FOR THE JOB of the United States delegate to the United Nations is not merely to help formulate and defend the United States position. He must win friends to that position and deter the enemies. Mrs. Sampson has chosen to win friends. Half of the job at the United Nations is during the day time. The other half is at night when social affairs are staged which give the delegates the chance to talk with one another. These are the friend-winning sessions.

By day and by night, Mrs. Sampson's eyes gleam and beckon with friendship. She has come to know nearly all the delegates — except the Ethiopians who are standoffish. The delegates meet her with a smile. They like her. She is an unusual person whom they accept on her merit. If their arm is to be twisted, they would prefer her doing the job rather than someone they don't like. They would remain stone cold to Dulles and warm up to Mrs. Sampson. That is all to the good for the United States. It is also all to the good for

the American Negro. Even though most of the delegates don't think of her as a Negro, they cannot be oblivious to the fact that she is a different kind of American from those to whom they are accustomed. They like this active, smart and friendly woman.

SECRETARY OF STATE Acheson has described her as a "breath of fresh air." That is a meaning which she is having to many persons from all over the world today.

Mrs. Sampson says that she is an American delegate representing the American people. She also knows that she is a Negro. She does not want to be up where she is alone. She wants to take you and me along with her. Next week I'll tell how.

THE HORIZON

Edith Sampson at the UN Affords Negroes New High Peaks of Inspiration

By P. L. PRATTIS

AFTER you lived for two score years or more, a look backward reveals many peaks of inspiration in your career. Unless you be a kind of callous cynic and egoist, these peaks of inspiration most often have to do with the achievements of others which have meaning for your own life. They are achievements which plumb deeply into the inner recesses of one's own aspirations.

Mr. Prattis

In a sense, they are achievements of persons whose talent has led them to seize opportunity and whose courage has given them the will to dare. We share their glory vicariously and make them our heroes because they become our exemplars.

Years ago, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes and many others of that bright decade which was the Twenties had voices when I was dumb. They spoke for me and I was proud. Then along came Joe Louis swinging my own strong right arm.

* * *

HOW I REVELED in my incontestable strength. With what a warm glow have I been suffused as my music has come from the lips of a Marian Anderson, a Lena Horne, a Josephine Baker, a Florence Mills, an Abbie Mitchell. My foot sought firm ground as I watched Ralph J. Bunche put the seal on peace in Palestine at Rhodes.

He was proving that I could do it. Tears came to my eyes only a few days ago. A man, unknown to me, arose before thousands of persons attending the White House Conference on Children and Youth. Fervently, ardently, he pleaded that these thousands condemn discrimination and segregation in the nation's capital. He spoke for me and the blood rushed to my brain. These are the peaks I mean.

There is another peak—to go with these. Friday afternoon, December 1, I sat in the vast chamber of the General Assembly of the United Nations at Flushing Meadows. Here were gathered the representatives of sixty nations, the power and the pomp of the world, all nations, all races, all colors, all creeds, all political beliefs.

* * *

HERE WERE THE great and the near-great. Here were the newspaper headliners, the population of a political haute monde which most of us only read about. Here were the men and the women the hems of whose garments are precious and touchless to the teeming millions.

For an hour and a half I sat and listened as the delegates from the Western bloc of nations and the delegates from the Eastern bloc strode to the illuminated sub-rostrum beneath the "throne" of the president of the Assembly and debated successive items on the agenda.

The leader of the Chinese Nationalist delegation berated the Chinese Communists. Delegates from Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland lambasted the United States because of its stand in Korea. The president of the Assembly cautioned against vituperation. Senator John Sparkman, Alabama, American delegate, mounted the rostrum to defend the United States.

* * *

AS I SAT and watched and listened, I knew this was the biggest stage in the world, the biggest in history. I knew that what I was listening to was a part of history and that the characters to whom I was listening were players in the great drama of history. Some would claim a sentence, some a paragraph, some a page, some a chapter, some a book.

A vote had been taken, counted. The United States had abstained from voting. The vote was on the International Fund for Children. After the president had announced the vote, he paused, then continued:

"MRS. EDITH SAMPSON, UNITED STATES DELEGATE, DESIRES TO EXPLAIN THE REASON FOR HER GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO VOTE."

* * *

BROTHERS AND SISTERS, can you get the feel of this announcement in the parliament of the world? Can you sense the prickly thrill which quickly possessed me? Can you see this brown woman, belonging to you and me, rise from her seat in the center of the chamber and stride with steady gate to the spotlighted rostrum and take her place before the lectern?

She spoke. Hers was no quavering voice. She spoke with authority and assurance:

"It is the position of the United States Government . . . My government does not believe that support for these children should be assumed on a temporary basis. My government believes there should be a permanent plan, not the temporary one covered by this agenda. The executive branch of the United States Government will ask the Congress to make a contribution to the Fund, but the United States reserves the right to continue to espouse a permanent Fund."

THE HORIZON

Can You Guess What A Million Nickels Can Do for the NAACP?

By P. L. PRATTIS

DID YOU ever hear of an organization popularly known as the NAACP? The initials stand for National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was founded in 1909-'10 and ever since that time it has been waging a vigorous and successful fight for the advancement of colored people, principally in the United States, but all over the world.

Mr. Prattis

Maybe you never heard about it. Maybe it has slipped by you. Maybe it never occurred to you that this organization ever did anything for you or your children or your children's children to come.

Well, there's not space here to tell the entire story of the NAACP. But I have decided that something ought to be said or done about the NAACP. The support, financial support, which the NAACP receives for the great and lasting services it renders, is so meager and inadequate, that any thoughtful person is bound to feel that MOST Negroes are not thinking about the NAACP.

* * *

THEY DON'T CONTRIBUTE to it. It is greatly to be doubted that a half-million of the fifteen million American Negroes contribute as much as one penny yearly to the NAACP. I am convinced that most of my people whom I pass in the streets of various cities are not conscious of the existence of the NAACP and do not help it.

The lack of knowledge about the NAACP among the masses of Negroes and their lack of concern for maintaining it as a strong, fighting instrument is an astonishing phenomenon. No other group in the United States receives so much from a self-help organization and gives so little. The Jews raise hundreds of millions to make a dream come true.

The Greeks, the Italians, the Poles, l' nationalities, give millions to help their causes here and in the lands from which they came. But not us. We are not touched.

YET THE WORK which the NAACP does touches and helps every Negro. If employment opportunities are created, every Negro is helped. If the bars to education are destroyed, every Negro is helped. If segregation barriers in housing are removed, every Negro is helped. If jim crow is eliminated on the railroads, every Negro is helped.

All these things, and many more, the NAACP has done for the Negro, for all Negroes. Yet only a pitiable minority of Negroes pays anything to this organization which helps them in so many ways. To resort to a cliche, "It's a crying shame!"

Can we do anything about this? You and I, I mean. Is there any way to get over to MORE Negroes the story of the NAACP's service to them? Is there any way to persuade them that payment for this service is a constant and continuing obligation. Insurance premiums which most of us pay, regularly, are for sickness and death. But what we should pay the NAACP is for LIFE ITSELF.

* * *

I WOULD LIKE to make a suggestion. Maybe YOU and YOU and YOU can do something about it. Don't you think that a million Negroes, out of fifteen million, ought to be able and willing to give 5 cents, a nickel, each month to buy freedom and first-class citizenship through the NAACP? If you agree with me that Negroes should be able and willing to do this, I think we ought to begin to organize "Nickel-a-Month" clubs to obtain financial support for the association.

If YOU and YOU and YOU and TEN THOUSAND others would organize Nickel-a-Month clubs of no more than ten members each, you would have 100,000 Negroes contributing $5,000 a month to the NAACP. If this number could be increased ten times, it would mean $50,000 a month to the NAACP. And if just one million Negroes would give a nickel a month, for a year, the association would be better off by SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS.

Why can't we do this? Why can't we try? Members and non-members? Why can't we organize such clubs and belong to such clubs? Why couldn't we take the NAACP to thousands of presently unconcerned Negroes in this manner? Could we not build up a great, cohesive, dynamic force in this way? Would this not increase the membership of the association as it increased its finances?

* * *

I'D LIKE TO know what you think about the suggestion. Write to me. Let me know if you're willing to start a club of not more than ten members and induce others to do the same thing.

Then let the Legal Defense Branch of the association know that you are doing this and ask them for guidance in making proper reports. Write to the association at 20 W. Fortieth Street, New York, N. Y. Let's try to see how many of us can get together doing something small, but important, for the sake of our very lives.

THE HORIZON

Dixie Railroads Continue To Employ a Subtle But Vicious Form of Jim Crow

By P. L. PRATTIS

IN COMPLIANCE with the recent U. S. Supreme Court ruling in the Henderson case, the Southern Railway System has issued new orders relative to seating passengers in dining cars. This order is a clever device designed to comply with the letter of the law while violating its spirit and retaining as much jim crow as possible. The order is a blatant insult to Negroes and a cowardly submission by the railroad to prejudice, real and presumed.

Mr. Prattis

A part of this new order reads:

"When entering singly, women will be seated with women, men with men, young people with young people, elderly persons with elderly persons, white persons with white persons, and NEGROES WITH NEGROES."

Just read that over again: MEN with MEN — WOMEN with WOMEN — YOUNG PEOPLE with YOUNG PEOPLE—ELDERLY PERSONS with ELDERLY PERSONS—WHITE PERSONS with WHITE PERSONS — NEGROES with NEGROES.

NEGROES ARE NOT included in any of the categories: They are not MEN or WOMEN or young PEOPLE or elderly PERSONS. They lack the stamp of humanity. They are a different sort of species, according to the reasoning of the officials of the Southern Railway System.

Followed to its discriminatory conclusion, the order will lead to many bizarre situations. Let us try to picture such a situation.

In the midst of a crowd of persons (and NEGROES) who are clamoring for seats in a diner on the Southern System are Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam (a white person) and Dr. Benjamin E. Mays (a Negro). Bishop Oxnam and Dr. Mays are great friends. They have eaten together often and they enjoy each other's company. They speak from the same background of education, culture and interests.

* * *

THE STEWARD SIGHTS Bishop Oxnam in front of the crowd, and beckons him to a seat at a table for two. He looks at the crowd and sees the Negro, Mays, but, of course, the rules say that Mays must be seated with a Negro. It's easy to tell that Dr. Mays is a Negro.

So the steward looks over the crowd to find a single person to seat with the Bishop. If he can, the steward must find a person who is white, male and elderly. There are several such persons, to wit:

One is a white male person of approximately fifty. You can't tell it by looking into his face, but he is a SWINDLER. Only a few months before, he had finished a ten-year jail term. The new rules permit the steward to seat the SWINDLER with the BISHOP.

* * *

THERE IS ANOTHER white male person in his late forties. His eyes glance furtively about him, but you can't tell that he is a recent employe of the State Department who lost his job when the department began to cleanse itself of its HOMOSEXUALS. The new rules permit the steward to seat the HOMOSEXUAL with the BISHOP.

The steward's eye rests upon another fortyish-looking man. He is tall and bears himself distinctively. If the steward kept up with his newspapers, he'd know that this man is Alger Hiss, a convicted LIAR. The rules permit the steward to seat the LIAR with the BISHOP.

Right in front there is a middle-aged man who seems to glower at the steward. His eyes say, "Gimme a seat and gimme a seat quick!" There's no way for the steward to know, but this man is a COMMUNIST, straight out of Moscow. He isn't even a citizen. He has spent twenty years in this country trying to destroy the foundation stones of our freedoms. The new rules permit the steward to seat the COMMUNIST with the BISHOP.

* * *

THE STEWARD ALSO sights an elderly man wearing a turban. His skin is brown, but the turban indicates he is a Hindu, and a sort of symbol of the yellow and brown peoples of Asia. The new rules don't say a doggoned thing about this man, or Chinese, or Japanese, or North or South Koreans. How does the steward handle a guest whom the rules do not cover?

The steward makes a quick decision. He beckons to the gentle-looking HOMOSEXUAL and seats him with the Bishop.

So far as Dr. Mays is concerned, the problem is solved for the steward when another Negro shows up. This Negro is a gambling house operator from Jacksonville. The steward beckons to the Rev. Dr. Mays and the GAMBLER. The new rules say that is okay.

THE HORIZON

Bankruptcy Shadows Racial Advancement Organizations

By P. L. PRATTIS

THE BUSINESS of fighting to protect the rights of the Negro minority is on the bum. Stock in race advancement agencies finds no buyers because the organizations are going broke. Their product is not getting a proper return in cash. It is costing more to protect the rights of Negroes — and to advance their cause — than they, or others, are willing to pay for it.

Mr. Prattis

If something isn't done — and quickly— Negroes may wake up one morning and find that they have no national organization defending their cause.

In a few days, I expect to attend the wake of one organization which exercised itself to see that Negroes shared the same rights and privileges as other Americans. The wake will be held in the Hotel New Yorker. The name of the organization which has recently succumbed is the American Council on Race Relations with headquarters in Chicago. It was born only a little more than six years ago. It died because of financial malnutrition. That is the plague of so many children.

* * *

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL on Race Relations was the dream child of the late Edwin R. Embree, director of the Rosenwald Fund; Marshall Field, merchant and publisher, and Dr. Charles C. Johnson, now president of Fisk University. These three joined in 1944 in calling together several score persons from all over the North and West to set up an organization to help secure the rights of the Negro.

They set a high goal, but one that was plain to see. They agreed that Negroes should have all the rights enjoyed by other Americans. They decided to study communities where Negroes were approaching decency as citizens and to make these communities examples for others that were not so progressive. The program was laudable indeed.

Although Negroes shared in the organization, I regarded it as a white man's effort. I do not mean that to be derogatory. Most of the money for its support came from the Rosenwald Fund and the Field Foundation. Other gifts came from interested whites. I did not feel too badly about this because I thought that there ought to be one organization, fighting for justice for the American Negro, which the white people of America, by themselves if necessary, would and could support. To me, this was to be a measure of their interest.

THROUGHOUT THE years as the financial problems of the American Council became more difficult to solve, I wondered if the failure of whites to support the Council represented indifference on their part toward first-class citizenship status for the Negro.

Each year, I witnessed the fact that the National Conference of Christians and Jews (which muted the racial issue while preaching brotherhood) was able to extract several millions from Americans while the American Council could not pick up a measly one hundred thousand dollars.

Now the American Council is to be interred. It goes out of existence because not enough whites gave the support it needed to keep alive.

* * *

EVEN AS THE American Council was breathing its last breath, disturbing signs of the serious financial sickness of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were seen. The organization, because of the demands of the times, is being required to spend more than it is taking in. This can only go on for so long. First, the reserves are eaten up.

Then bills must be met on a day-to-day cash balance basis. Then comes retrenchment of program. Then a further reduction of financial support until a vicious circle of attrition is created and the organization dies.

This serious situation ought to mean something to thoughtful Negroes—particularly those with money. They ought to stop quibbling about the NAACP, forget personalities and GIVE, GIVE, GIVE. The little two-dollar membership fee means practically nothing. The association needs money in big, generous gobs. It ought to have at least one million dollars a year with which to work.

* * *

BUT IF IT is to have the money it needs, most of us have got to realize that our duty does not end when we have bought a little membership. We ought to be proud to send our check to the NAACP —for ten dollars, fifty dollars, a hundred dollars, a thousand dollars. We ought to give until it hurts to keep OUR organization from dying.

Let's be serious about the matter. Sit down and think it through. Ask yourself if, as a Negro, you have done what you should for the NAACP. This is the organization which has paved the way for every solid, law-based advance the Negro has made. Think of enlarged educational opportunities, of voting restrictions removed, of housing covenants outlawed, of the decline of lynch and mob rule.

All of these things came from the spade work done by the NAACP. Why not take time to think of what it has done, of what you owe it, and then send a check to 20 W. Fortieth Street, New York, N. Y.

THE HORIZON

D. C. Prepares to Prove It Is the Jim-Crow Capital of the Nation

By P. L. PRATTIS

PERHAPS some of those who read after this scribbler will recall the time in 1949 when he was interviewed by a correspondent for the United Press in New Delhi, India. After an hour of conversation, during which I tried to tell him what I thought was important, I suddenly discovered that he had come to see if I would take a position in comparing the United States with other countries.

Mr. Prattis

He wanted me to say that the United States is the best place for Negroes. Negroes are supposed to make up their minds this way and stop complaining so much.

I told that correspondent that I had never encountered in any other country, whether in Europe, Asia or Africa, the kind of insults, because of my color, to which I had been compelled to accustom myself in my own country. I also told him that I had visited many other capitals, but no other capital which discriminated against me in the ways the capital of my own country does.

* * *

AS A FINAL concession, I acknowledged that, economically, the United States is better for the American Negro just as it is for all other segments of the American population, regardless of their color or origin.

I was reminded of this interview when I learned of the problem which the White House Conference on Children and Youth has run into in Washington. There are going to be hundreds of persons from all over our country and from other sections of the world attending that conference in December.

No one knows how many of these persons will be colored. A substantial number will be. The conference draws no color line.

* * *

BUT THE HOTELS in the capital city of this great democracy do draw the color line. The persons who are making arrangements to entertain the delegates to the White House Conference are also unhappily aware of this discrimination. In order to protect the good (?) name of the capital, they tried to solve the problem of hotel accommodations (for every body) in advance.

They sought a conference with representatives of all the Washington hotels. This invitation to a conference was rejected.

Then they tried the device of talking to representatives of the hotels individually. All they got out of that was a sort of promise that they would take care of a certain quota of the Negro delegates if the other hotels would accept a quota.

* * *

OF COURSE, THAT meant that the White House committee would have to tie each hotel down to a quota if it thought it desirable to enter into such an arrangement. Fortunately, members of the committee recognized that even if such an arrangement could be perfected, it would be discriminatory and would subject colored delegates to special and exclusive treatment on account of their race.

Furthermore, although the directors of the White House Conference have insisted that Negroes be included in the delegations, they have no way of knowing how many Negroes there are—because they haven't asked. There has been no point to finding out how many Negro delegates.

And, again, they wouldn't want to attempt to find out how many Negro delegates there are in order to perfect a quota arrangement at the Washington hotels.

* * *

THE CONSEQUENCE IS that through no fault of those persons behind the White House Conference, scores of Negroes who may attend that conference will be subject to inconvenience and discrimination because jim crow is more powerful in Washington than the President.

Dark-skinned visitors to the face in the kind of world in conference from foreign lands which we presently live. We're are destined to learn something crying our ideals to high heaven all over the world in an effort to hold enough friends to at close hand about how democracy is practiced in the American capital. They will also help us to stave off Communist learn what American preachments abroad about freedom, aggression, but we seem utterly powerless to pluck from our the dignity of the individual bosom the fertile discrimination and brotherhood mean at the seat of the Government. tions which communism feeds upon.

Washington is an ugly fact for any American to have to

THE HORIZON

Negro Business Should Prepare to Meet All Competition Despite Hue

By P. L. PRATTIS

THIS piece is not intended to be critical of Negro business. It is aimed at young Negroes, maybe the boys and girls coming out of college this year. Much credit is due the leadership which has brought Negroes' business to the point it is today.

Mr. Prattis

But, it seems to this writer, we would be sadly derelict if we rested on our present laurels, if we concluded that businesses operated for the benefit of Negroes or for the benefit of the general public? Another question is: "For whose benefit should businesses owned by Negroes be operated?

* * *

IT IS ALMOST fair to state that the most successful Negro businesses are the result of jim crow, discrimination and race prejudice. If white newspapers had not mistreated, ignored and abused Negroes, there would have scarcely been an opening for the growth of the present Negro press.

If white undertakers suddenly showed a desire to handle Negro bodies, another Negro business would be jeopardized. The same goes for Negro barbers, Negro hotels, Negro restaurants, almost everything Negro. Where the color line enters, the Negro, up to the present, has had his greatest opportunity in business.

This has not always been true. In the early days, before there were large numbers of Negroes in Northern cities, Negro businessmen operated large establishments catering to the general public (usually excluding Negroes). They were highly successful in their time.

They seem to have been succeeded, however, by a generation of Negro businessmen who are content simply to take advantage of discrimination and cater to their race alone.

* * *

NO OTHER GROUP in this country has yet submitted to the philosophy of minority—restricted business. The Jews, it is well known, fight for and win the trade of the general public.

The Chinese, the Japanese, the Mexicans, the Filipinos and all other minorities, do likewise. It is only the Negro businessman who aims his stuff particularly at his own race and expects to rise or fall on the basis of the kind of support he gets from his own.

I am quite willing to concede that there may have been some justification for such a "within-the-group" attitude in the past. But what about today? Are we not growing? Are we not contending that the walls which once hemmed us in be torn down? Are we not struggling for the total elimination of segregation and discrimination based on it? Are we not demanding integration?

* * *

WE FIGHT AGAINST jim-crow schools, jim-crow churches, jim-crow hospitals, housing ghettoes, and all the differentials which handicap us.

But what do we do to destroy the label of jim-crow business? What plans do we have for the big competition? Jackie Robinson was helped over the hurdle from Negro baseball to major league baseball. What about major league business? Are Negro businessmen only competent to cater to a trade based on race prejudice?

Have we not reached a point in our development where we ought to be thinking more and more of getting into the main economic stream? If we know so much and are so smart, why don't we do it? Is it lack of capital? All so-called white businesses do not have the benefit of large amounts of capital.

* * *

DOES IT TAKE more money for a Negro shoemaker to open up in a white district than in a Negro district? Or does it take more courage and enterprise?

Why should not Negroes and whites, in these progressive days, be going into business together to serve both whites and Negroes?

The chances are that the present generation of Negro businessmen will not work around to the point of putting integration into practice. But there's no need for our young people to wait to see if there's a chance to profit on prejudice.

They ought to explore the possibility of going into business, catering to the general public, and depending for their success on their ability to beat the competition, regardless of its hue.

THE HORIZON

An Ex-Convict Whose Accomplishments Should Inspire Youth of Race

By P. L. PRATTIS

THIS is going to be comment about an ex-convict who died the other day.

He was a friend of mine. Even now, I can't understand how we moved in and out of each other's lives the way we did. For this ex-convict was a very big man.

Mr. Prattis

He had tremendous capacity for doing things.

He had skill and he had class. He was the acknowledged most potent influence among some 200,000 people. I was but a youngster on the street. Yet this man took time out to talk with me. He even sought my advice. And it came to pass, in the course of time, that I was to be one of those who would go to the penitentiary where he was incarcerated and try to save him from serving a long term.

There are many others who will recall the time when this man was at the height of his power. One Sunday, he was scheduled to deliver a tribute to another man in one of Chicago's most "dicty" churches. All the high-class folk were out.

As I recall, my ex-convict friend had the job of heaping praise upon Robert S. Abbott, the publisher, who had just returned from a trip to South America.

THE EX-CONVICT warmed up to his subject and began to "pour it on." After getting his audience in the mood, the ex-convict began to apostrophize Abbott as:

"A man who has did . . .
"A man who has did . . .
"A man who has did . . .

The society audience tittered under its breath. Here was perhaps the richest man in the town, a man who gave all the outward appearances of living a cultured life, but he didn't know his verbs. This public appearance exposed him. For days and weeks afterward, Chicagoans laughed about the incident.

This man was supposed to own more State Street frontage than any other Chicagoan, white or colored. He had helped to finance most of the Negro enterprises in Chicago which spelled progress. He operated a small bank which seemed like a model. It wasn't "colored." It was a modern structure which he had built himself. It was pretty and clean. The help was quiet, helpful and courteous. He himself looked every bit the part of what he was—a successful businessman who dominated business and social life in the Negro community.

* * *

INCIDENTALLY, I AM not too sure that those persons who laughed at his verbs really meant to laugh. They laughed to keep from facing an embarrassing reality, to comfort themselves.

The fact which they did not want to face seriously was that this unlettered man was a success, much more of a success than any of those who laughed. He had found something which had escaped them—the key to success.

It probably frightened them to realize how much more he might have done had he had the advantage of their education. Rather than show fear, or measure their own true ability against his, they laughed.

* * *

WELL, HARD TIMES came—for everybody. It was 1929. There was the stock market crash. Between that time and 1933, when Roosevelt took office, hundreds of banks crashed.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was formed. One of its chief jobs was to save Charles Dawes' big bank in Chicago. But there was no way to save this colored man's bank. It was small stuff, so to speak. It went under and hundreds of persons were hurt. My little bit went with the rest.

I'll never know if this man ever did anything really criminal. To this day, I can't believe he did. I think he fought a losing battle with the circumstances of his times. When he lost, it was charged that he had not obeyed the rules. He was tried and convicted of a crime. At the age of seventy, his bank gone, his wife gone, his home gone, his fortune gone, he was taken to prison where he served his term. He emerged an ex-convict.

* * *

THE CHURCH, THE church of his choice, held out its arms to him. For the last years of his life he lived in and with St. Anselm Roman Catholic Church. He was lost to everyone he had known but his church.

His memory ought not to be lost to his people. Jesse Binga started as a huckster and became the first Negro in Chicago. When the crash came (due to forces beyond his control, or of any one man), his temple was destroyed and he and the people with him were crushed. But the heights he reached, despite a lack of education, should forever be remembered and held as an example to Negroes who would get ahead.

Even though Jesse Binga had to die an ex-convict, he gave much more to society than he took away. He was one of the great giants of the race. We need more men like him.

PRATTIS

Restaurant Discrimination Upheld, Fair Employment Practices Rejected in Washington, D. C.

By P. L. PRATTIS

EVEN while efforts were being made to persuade Pakistan and the Philippines to send troops (even if no more than token detachments) to Korea to prove (against the Communist charge) that the fighting in that country is not a "white man's imperialist war," things unbelievably fantastic (in view of the world setting) were happening in Washington, the capital of freedom, equality and democracy.

Mr. Prattis

Even as Uncle Sam's newly denoted tan soldiers were spilling their blood and giving their lives in an unequal fight south of the thirty-eighth parallel, their brothers in the United States were being rudely and bluntly repulsed in their struggle against discrimination.

Twice within three days they were slapped in the face.

* * *

RESTAURANTS IN THE nation's capital refuse to serve Negroes.

The National Committee to Abolish Discrimination in the Nation's Capital was successful in 1948 in finding an old law, passed in 1873, making it illegal to discriminate in this manner. It was brought out that the law is still on the books.

As a consequence, Negroes began going to Washington restaurants. Most of the restaurants, aware of the newly found law, served Negroes. Two did not. Suits were filed against them to see if the law could be made to stick and how.

Last week, a Municipal Court judge ruled, in effect, that the law was no good. He asserted that Negroes would have to use some other instrument, or method, to force Washington restaurants to serve them.

* * *

THUS THE WASHINGTON Restaurant Owners Association which, through its members, maintains the discrimination, won.

This association had sought a $25,000 fund to fight this case and to keep the doors of its members closed to Negroes. The effect of the court's decision is to give them assurance that it is all right to continue to refuse to serve Negroes.

Two days later, an attempt was made to get the United State Senate to discuss a bill for fair employment practices. A motion to take up the bill was made. Senators from the South were prepared to filibuster against the motion to take up. As a result, the Democratic majority leader, Lucas, sought to limit debate on the motion to take up by imposing closure. Under the new ruling sponsored by the Republicans last year, sixty-four votes are required to effect closure. In an earlier test in May, only fifty-two votes were obtained. In the latest test, last week, there were only fifty-five votes for closure. Twenty-seven Democrats, half the number in the Senate voted against closure.

As a result, the United States Senate bluntly turned its back upon any consideration of fair employment practices in this session of Congress.

* * *

IN THE COURT case affecting restaurants, Negroes had sought to protest by law their right to purchase food in any place serving the general public.

The court ruled that there is no present protection of that right. Negroes—and all the rest of the world—were told that this discrimination against them (because of their color) is to prevail in the capital of their country until they find a remedy that does not now exist.

This is how white people andle such matters in the capital of democracy. This is the white man who is fighting for freedom and equality in Asia (he says) and is purblind to it at home.

Despite all the Southern oratorical bombast, fair employment practices are only what the words mean. The thought behind them is that any qualified American should have the same chance to make a living according to his merits. They mean that the employer should be fair and that he should not reject a job applicant, otherwise qualified, simply because he happens to be a Negro, a Jew, a Catholic, or a member of some other minority.

* * *

BUT THE UNITED States Senate has let the rest of the world (including the Communists) know that it is dominated by a group which does not want to be fair to all Americans in the area of employment.

THE HORIZON

Mr. Truman's Appointment Of Mrs. Sampson Indicates Willingness to Skirt Color

By P. L. PRATTIS

AMERICAN Negroes will feel justifiably proud of the appointment of one of their own as a member of the United States delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations. As this piece is written, the regular delegates are slated to be: Warren R. Austin, chief; Senator John Sparkman, Alabama Democrat; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts Republican; John Foster Dulles, Republican adviser to the Secretary of State, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Mr. Prattis

The alternate delegates are to be John Sherman Cooper, former U. S. Senator from Kentucky; Benjamin Cohen, former alternate delegate, and Mrs. Edith Spurlock Sampson.

What is the meaning of Mrs. Sampson's appointment, and what purpose will be served by it?

In the first place, it would seem to have foreign and domestic political aspects. There is scarcely an action which can be taken by the President, which can be construed to help his party, that will not be regarded as political.

* * *

HOWEVER, ABOVE AND beyond that, the appointment once more demonstrates Mr. Truman's personal willingness to ignore the color line, despite obstruction in his party; his recognition of the disturbing influence of race and color in the current world struggle, and his determination to point this up for the benefit of those millions of Americans who continue to feel that they can be white supremacists in a changing world.

It is hard to believe that the President has not had a good, long talk with one of his most loyal supporters, Congressman William L. Dawson, Chicago. Mr. Dawson had toyed with the idea of representation by Negroes internationally for a number of years. He and Mrs. Sampson belong to the same political party.

His Chicago political office is in a building owned by Mrs. Sampson in that city. Her office is in the same building. It is therefore easy to presume that Mr. Dawson, faced with the political fight of his career from Alderman A. J. Carey Jr., has found this a propitious time to act in behalf of himself, his race and his country.

* * *

PROUD AS NEGROES may be of this appointment (which world-wise brings them out from the kitchen to the living room to meet the family guests), they can't ignore the fact that the effect of it in this country will remain almost completely political. White Americans will continue to draw the color line against Negroes—even Mrs. Sampson. She will continue to have to search for a "colored" hotel and a "colored" restaurant in Atlanta. They will look for another colored person with whom to seat her in dining cars in the South.

There are hundreds of jobs in private industry which she could competently fill, but she would be denied access to these jobs, even now, because of her color, unless, after service with the United Nations, it was felt that her prestige was of value, despite her color.

The appointment of Mrs. Sampson to the United Nations will solve few, if any of the problems which she and her people face in this country. They, and she, will continue to be insulted and humiliated in Washington, the capital. Jim crow will merely blink his eyes and carry on.

* * *

IT IS UP to Mrs. Sampson to make her appointment have meaning, or purpose, for her people as well as her country. It is in her nature to shoot straight at the mark. But these are testy times. The whites have repudiated Paul Robeson, but the masses of Negroes, brooding in their hearts, have not. They are simply more cautious than he.

Last year, Mrs. Sampson spoke in New Delhi on the Town Hall tour. I did not hear the speech, unfortunately. But my friends who did hear her were utterly disgusted by her answer to the young Indian interrogator. I am Mrs. Sampson's friend, have known her for more than thirty years.

I am telling her what many friends would not tell her after she returned when they were under the influence of her personality. These friends thought she had missed a chance to speak out for her race and had apologized for the acts of white Americans against Negro Americans. Time magazine points to the Indian incident as a complimentary reflection of her character and attitude.

* * *

IF MRS. SAMPSON should use the stage of the General Assembly as a platform for double-talk in which the injustices her people suffer here will be glossed over, she will rue the day the appointment came to her. If she follows her own best thought, she will not do so.

Those of us who know and love her can but hope that she will not be overwhelmed, that she will not permit herself to be flattered, and that with the courage and skill which is characteristic of her, she will strike down the enemies of her race and her country at home and abroad. That is the most that can be expected.

THE HORIZON

The Supermen From the South Saw the Handwriting on the High Court's Crimson Drapes

By P. L. PRATTIS

WHO SAID these whites are SUPERMEN? They don't look like they are. Sometimes they look so bad as to excite your pity.

They seem to be as miserable and recreant as an African native facing the whiplash of a Boer taskmaster. The best time to catch them looking bad is when they have crossed up themselves—when they profess one thing and do another. If you catch them in this kind of mix-up—and rub their noses in it—they're a sad sight to behold. I know. I have seen with my own eyes.

Mr. Prattis

Last week, I had occasion to see five white lawyers suffer a pitiably embarrassing experience. One represented the Interstate Commerce Commission. Another represented the Southern Railway. Another said he represented the Congress. A fourth was the Attorney General of Oklahoma. The fifth was the Attorney General of Texas.

These men appeared before the United States Supreme Court to defend jim crow on the railroads and in schools.

* * *

THE GUYS WHO grabbed them by the scruff of their necks were a battery of colored lawyers, led by Atty. Thurgood Marshall and aided by the Attorney General of the United States.

What these lawyers did to the South's defenders of "tradition" or "prejudice" (aptly so denoted by the Attorney General from Texas) was simple. They took the white man's own creed and law and flashed them right under the noses of the members of the high court.

"Gentlemen," they declaimed, "this is your law. This is how it reads and this is what you have agreed that it means. If you are going to stick to the law you have made yourselves, you have got to act against this segregation."

Said McGrath, U. S. Attorney General: "You must examine the nature, purpose and effect of the 'separate but equal' doctrine."

* * *

ALWAYS HITHERTO THE Southerners have had the chance to make a pretense of providing equality where segregation was imposed.

But McGrath interposed: "Equality is more than equality of tables, chairs, knives and forks, table linen and food. When you, by dint of law, set a man off from the rest of the community, you label him as inferior, you debase him."

The rules of the Interstate Commerce Commission itself were cited by Belford V. Lawson, chief attorney in the Henderson case, to prove you can't do that.

Youngish advocate Carter, speaking for McLaurin in the case up from the University of Oklahoma, freely admitted that the State of Oklahoma had given McLaurin all equal facilities, but claimed that fact did not matter.

"The state has no right to restrict McLaurin to equal or better facilities on the basis of his race or color," Carter impassively maintained.

"If the students at the University of Texas don't want to eat with Hemon Sweatt," admitted Marshall, "they don't have to do so. They don't have to associate with him. They can covenant among themselves not to speak to him.

"But that is not the point. What we contend is that the State of Texas has no right to use its power to separate Sweatt from his fellows solely because of his color."

* * *

FEEBLY THE SUPERMEN from the South sought to lam away at the bastion of law and reason constructed against the "separate but equal" doctrine.

"Give us time," they pleaded.

"The Nigras may be right," they admitted, "but if this court acts on their reasoning something dire may happen. Nigras may start marrying whites. They may want to start socializing with whites."

Actually, dear readers. These were sorry specimens of white supremacy when they were challenged to defend the evil misdeeds of their kind under the searing light of their own law.

Whatever may be the decision of the Supreme Court in these cases, the supermen from the South saw the handwriting on the crimson drapes of the Supreme Court chamber.

They know that time is measuring out defeat for them.

THE HORIZON

Friendship for the Negro Is Being Wickedly Tied in With Suspicions of Disloyalty

By P. L. PRATTIS

IN THE old days, as I recall, there was a common expression in the South which ran, "I can feel for you, Bud, but I can't reach you."

The expression usually covered the predicament of two friends, one of whom found himself in a precarious position. One might have fallen into a deep and dangerous hole.

Mr. Prattis

Supplicatingly, he would look up to his friend above for rescue. But the friend above fears that if he attempts to help the victim, he may be drawn into the hole himself, and there the two of them will be. Thus his assurance: "I can feel for you, Bud, but I can't reach you."

Sometimes, these days, I wonder how the Negro and his friends are going to stick together. I wonder if his friends are going to be able to help him without injuring themselves, or getting into the same predicament.

* * *

THERE HAS ALWAYS been a disposition in some, most, sections of our country to separate the Negro's friends from him by the use of scorn, contumely and epithets.

In the South a man or woman who might be noticeably friendly toward Negroes, as compared with the average, was usually called a "n——r lover." That was meant to imply that he was not quite a safe person, that his mind and character were a little off and that he was socially suspect.

Friendship for Negroes was against the mores and was a crime to be punished by a sort of ostracism from the group.

Although this practice has reached its extreme in the South, it has by no means been an infrequent device used in the North and West—aided, of course, by the uniformed police power of the state.

* * *

AS A RESULT, beginning with the Abolitionists, courage has always been one of the distinguishing attributes of white friends of the Negro. They have had to face the hostile attitude of their group and try to change it.

We are now facing something more serious than the old name-calling. We have been rapidly reaching a point where friendship toward Negroes, per se, is not sufficient to affect the social status of the white friend. There are too many whites with assured social status who are helping Negroes and trying to make democracy more than a word.

Now friendship for the Negro is being wickedly tied in with suspicion of disloyalty to the nation and the Government. If whites are observably friendly toward Negroes, the tendency is to be suspicious of them and to investigate them.

We have reached a point where a white person friendly to Negroes is not going to be trusted by his fellows until it is proved that he has never belonged to any organization which may have been used, however tangentially, by the Communists or their sympathizers.

* * *

WE HAVE ALSO reached the point where we don't like such persons whether they're Communists, fellow travelers or not. We don't like them if they're Baptist Republicans because, perchance, they may talk like Communists when it comes to Negroes.

If this kind of public attitude continues to grow and spread, what is going to happen to whites whose loyalty is tested by the question "Have you ever had any Negroes in your home?"

In the old days, they stood up bravely against attempts at social ostracism.

But suspicion of disloyalty and its attendant obloquy are something else again. How many true friends of the Negro will want to risk their careers, as well as their social acceptance, because they accept Negroes as God's children?

* * *

IN THE KIND of political and social climate which is now building up, will it seem worth-while to whites, no matter how courageous, to try to help their darker brother and thereby run the risk of falling into the same kind of hole, or worse, that he is in?

Will the kind of harassment which is now going on lead many whites to lament sadly, "We can feel for you, Brothers, but we can't reach you!"?

Where can we and our white friends find ground to stand that the Communists have not usurped, and cannot usurp and render indefensible?

THE HORIZON

Baseball Heroes Owe Debt of Gratitude To the Negro Public

By P. L. PRATTIS

WHICH was first, the egg or the hen? When a popular hero has been set up, who's responsible? Who deserves the credit?

With the employment of Negroes in big league baseball, the roster of popular heroes among us has increased quickly. Almost all of these big league players will draw a crowd, on the baseball diamond or on the corner.

Mr. Prattis

They have a public which is fond of them and which pins its hopes on them. All the kids will trail after Jackie Robinson, Don Newcombe, Dan Bankhead, Henry Thompson, Larry Doby, Roy Campanella and Luke Easter.

THE PUBLIC WHICH supports these heroes keeps its mind on them, pays out hard cash to go see them play, follows their records religiously in the newspapers, keeps up the interest by carrying on arguments where ever two or three can get together.

Everytime one of these heroes goes to bat or trots out to the playing field, there are thousands of Negroes all over the land pulling for them.

But what do these heroes think of the public? Are they grateful to their public? Do they give the public any credit for helping them to get their lush jobs and keep them, or do they accept the adulation of the public as something that they have to put up with and that they wish they did not have to be bothered with?

* * *

TOO FREQUENTLY, there are signs from these heroes that they think much more of themselves than they do of their public. They give one the impression that they don't think the public's attitude has anything to do with their success.

They succumb to the delusion that they are hot stuff on the diamond and that it was their playing ability alone which got them their jobs and keeps them where they are.

Such ballplayers who can't be tolerant and friendly with the mob ought to do a little thinking back. Some of the present big league players have had the experience of starving it out in the Negro leagues.

Hundreds of Negro players, equal to or superior to the present crop of Negro players in the majors, have lived and died without ever getting the chance our present-day heroes have.

* * *

THESE NEGRO PLAYERS of other years could not make opening for themselves, regardless of their ability. Rube Foster never made the big leagues. Torrienti and Dihigo never played in the majors. Satchel Paige could not pitch his way into the American League when he was at his best.

Playing ability, by itself, did not open the doors of the majors to Negro players. If men like Robinson, Campanella, Newcombe, Doby and the rest had only their playing ability to go on, they would still be in the Negro league or seeking some sort of an ordinary job to maintain their families. Their ability wouldn't mean a thing.

What put them where they are today was and is the interest of the Negro people and the agencies they control (such as the newspapers) in forcing open the big league doors for them or any other Negro players. The Negro people were interested in putting the race ahead.

The boys in the big leagues today are merely the lucky beneficiaries of the pressures exerted by Negroes as a whole.

* * *

WHEN THE DODGERS played a Sunday game in Cincinnati a few weeks ago, half of the 30,000 crowd is said to have been composed of Negroes who came in trains from Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis and other parts of the South.

Jackie is reported to have looked at the crowd and expressed the wish that he might have had a "cut" of that gate.

Jackie did have a cut. And so did Newcombe and Campanella and Bankhead. That gate is one of the factors which are keeping these men and other players on these teams. As long as there is that kind of support for them, there'll be no turning back. They'll continue to have their chance and other Negroes will get a chance.

* * *

WITHOUT THAT SUPPORT, their fate and that of Negroes in the future would be in the balance. Most major league teams have not taken on Negro players. Without the "gate" and the continued pressure from Negroes, it would be comparatively easy for the few teams which have taken on Negroes to reverse themselves.

Negro Business Should Prepare to Meet All Competition Despite Hue

THIS piece is not intended to be critical of Negro business. It is aimed at young Negroes, maybe the boys and girls coming out of college this year. Much credit is due the leadership which has brought Negroes' business to the point it is today.

Mr. Prattis

But, it seems to this writer, we would be sadly derelict if we rested on our present laurels, if we concluded that businesses operated for the benefit of Negroes or for the benefit of the general public? Another question is: "For whose benefit should businesses owned by Negroes be operated?

* * *

IT IS ALMOST fair to state that the most successful Negro businesses are the result of jim crow, discrimination and race prejudice. If white newspapers had not mistreated, ignored and abused Negroes, there would have scarcely been an opening for the growth of the present Negro press.

If white undertakers suddenly showed a desire to handle Negro bodies, another Negro business would be jeopardized. The same goes for Negro barbers, Negro hotels, Negro restaurants, almost everything Negro. Where the color line enters, the Negro, up to the present, has had his greatest opportunity in business.

This has not always been true. In the early days, before there were large numbers of Negroes in Northern cities, Negro businessmen operated large establishments catering to the general public (usually excluding Negroes). They were highly successful in their time.

They seem to have been succeeded, however, by a generation of Negro businessmen who are content simply to take advantage of discrimination and cater to their race alone.

NO OTHER GROUP in this country has yet submitted to the philosophy of minority—restricted business. The Jews, it is well known, fight for and win the trade of the general public.

The Chinese, the Japanese, the Mexicans, the Filipinos and all other minorities, do likewise. It is only the Negro businessman who aims his stuff particularly at his own race and expects to rise or fall on the basis of the kind of support he gets from his own.

I am quite willing to concede that there may have been some justification for such a "within-the-group" attitude in the past. But what about today? Are we not growing? Are we not contending that the walls which once hemmed us in be torn down? Are we not struggling for the total elimination of segregation and discrimination based on it? Are we not demanding integration?

* * *

WE FIGHT AGAINST jim-crow schools, jim-crow churches, jim-crow hospitals, housing ghettoes, and all the differentials which handicap us.

But what do we do to destroy the label of jim-crow business? What plans do we have for the big competition? Jackie Robinson was helped over the hurdle from Negro baseball to major league baseball. What about major league business? Are Negro businessmen only competent to cater to a trade based on race prejudice?

Have we not reached a point in our development where we ought to be thinking more and more of getting into the main economic stream? If we know so much and are so smart, why don't we do it? Is it lack of capital? All so-called white businesses do not have the benefit of large amounts of capital.

* * *

DOES IT TAKE more money for a Negro shoemaker to open up in a white district than in a Negro district? Or does it take more courage and enterprise?

Why should not Negroes and whites, in these progressive days, be going into business together to serve both whites and Negroes?

The chances are that the present generation of Negro businessmen will not work around to the point of putting integration into practice. But there's no need for our young people to wait to see if there's a chance to profit on prejudice.

They ought to explore the possibility of going into business, catering to the general public, and depending for their success on their ability to beat the competition, regardless of its hue.

THE HORIZON

They Pull the Curtains Down So Quietly These Days . . . You Scarcely Notice

By P. L. PRATTIS

THEY pull the curtains down so quietly these days — so quietly you scarcely even notice.

Another life has gone.

Tears and grief follow.

For the immediate family there is the grim business of death, the details.

For friends there is the arresting fact that the number of those in the circle of friendship has been reduced, is being reduced, inexorably. You are in that circle. The reminder causes you to shudder.

Mr. Prattis

You quickly recapture yourself from the ugly thought. You face light and life and feel sorry for the friend whom darkness and silence have embraced.

I lost two very close friends recently, men whose lives had meant much to me personally and perhaps even more to their people. At my home we were gathered around the piano after dinner on Sunday evening singing. The telephone rang. Mrs. Lovelyn Evans was calling from Chicago to inform us of the quick and unexpected death of Dr. Carl Roberts. I was stunned.

Less than twenty-four hours later, however, during Monday afternoon, I was to receive a telegram from Dr. Frederick Patterson of Tuskegee Institute bearing the knowledge that Albon Holsey had died that morning. Two out of the circle in two days.

• • •

I THINK SOMETHING should be written into the record about these two men who, although they labored far apart, made similar contributions to society and their people.

In many respects, they were quite unlike. In other, more fundamental respects, they were identical.

They were both Christian gentlemen. I could be without knowledge of their church connections and write this latter sentiment. They were men of good and sturdy character. They loved the good deed. They shunned the thought of evil. Their spirit was to help. Each believed in service, in the duty of the individual to be useful.

I think the word gentleman aptly describes each of them. They were strong men. They were active and industrious men. But they were gentle as well.

• • •

EACH WAS CAREFUL not to hurt or to offend in personal or professional relationships.

Each was kind and thoughtful. Each was courteous to high and low alike. Nature had endowed them with the same good traits.

For all the many years I knew Holsey, he was close at the side of another man, unobtrusively and unpretentiously and modestly helping that other man. First, Booker T. Washington. Then Robert R. Moton. Then Frederick D. Patterson.

It could truthfully be said that each of these men upon whom great responsibilities of leadership had been placed, extended the area of their usefulness through Holsey. Quietly, methodically, efficiently, he carried out their plans, made them come alive. He was always at their elbow to serve.

It surely does not detract from the service rendered by each of these men to remind that they had this faithful servant, himself a big and able man, who resisted ambition and gave all he had for others. I do not think that Holsey ever felt a sense of sacrifice that others, his friends and superiors, should have received the most public credit.

He was content to be their good right arm, to work and not to squabble, to encourage, not to snipe.

On January 2, this year, I had a lovely letter from Holsey. He was going to do one of the pieces for The Courier's Fortieth Anniversary Series. He was enthusiastic about the prospects. His letter was the kind you like to put in your pocket and carry around so that you may sneak a look at it from time to time. Two weeks from the date he wrote, the curtains were drawn.

Carl G., as I called him, was different in some ways from Holsey. He was the lead man himself.

• • •

HE BUILT HIMSELF up from an average beginning in a small Indiana town until at the peak of his career he was president of the National Medical Association, head of the Department of Surgery of Provident Hospital in Chicago, and on the staff of two other Chicago hospitals.

He won the highest respect in his profession. He also enjoyed great prestige as a leader. He was a profound and accurate thinker and an eloquent platform speaker.

He was a man of erudition and marked culture.

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WHEREAS HOLSEY STOOD slightly to the rear, encouraging his leader to go on, warning him of pitfalls, removing the stumbling blocks from his path, Carl G. was intrepid himself. He felt called upon to blaze the trail and to encourage others to come after him. Holsey spurred the man in front.

Carl G. inspired the man in the rear. Carl G. carried the ball. Holsey ran the interference. Each played his role with great skill.

Each made his contribution to the success of the team and each was modest about it.

When you have known such men and have been permitted to measure, in some degree, the extent of their contribution, you are compelled to recognize the empty space left by their passing. Of course, that space will be filled. It has always been filled since the beginning of time. It is filled, one would judge, as a part of the divine plan. But who is to fill it? Your boy?

THE HORIZON

Dr. Embree Hasn't Quit Work, He's at It Again, Giving Away Fellowships

By P. L. PRATTIS

EDWIN R. EMBREE is up to it again.

You remember Embree, don't you? How he took on the job of giving away the Julius Rosenwald fortune? How when it was all gone, he and his colleagues closed shop? Well, Dr. Embree hasn't quit work. He's at it again.

He's giving away more fellowships.

Mr. Prattis

The Rosenwald money is gone, but the Rosenwald idea is still alive and has taken on a new and up-to-date form. Embree is with the John Hay Whitney Foundation and he has taken along with him Dr. Robert S. Weaver. Weaver is directing an operation known as Opportunity Fellowships.

IN THE PAST, whether for good or ill, most fellowships have been given simply for learning or fancy learning. A bright boy or girl would be given a chance to dig in on some heavy subject or to polish up as a musician, writer or artist.

These new fellowships will be for such persons, too—some of them.

But they are also going to give what I like to call "work" fellowships. It is being recognized that Negroes in the past have had more opportunities to obtain learning than they have had to use that learning. They have had the chance to go to school, but they haven't had the chance to obtain job experience in line with their learning. These new fellowships are going to cover internships or job experience.

• • •

SUPPOSE I PASS on to you what Dr. Weaver has written to me:

"The new fellowship program of the John Hay Whitney Foundation is unique in several respects. Its most outstanding characteristic is flexibility. As contrasted with most fellowships in which minority groups have participated in the past, this program is not restricted to graduate study or to the creative arts. As a matter of fact, one of the purposes of the new fellowships is to offer minorities EXPERIENCE in fields where they have not yet participated to any significant degree.

"The announcement of the fellowship program specifically states that awards will provide internships for persons interested in business or in labor union organization. In the light of the fact that lack of experience, as contrasted with educational opportuniies, has been the greatest impediment to Negroes successfully entering the productive and distributive life of the nation, this can be a significant opportunity. In order to make it so, it is imperative that persons who have finished training in these fields either in schools of through practical experience) apply for grants so as to avail themselves of such internships.

"Although the announcement does not specifically so state, those responsible for the fellowship program must contemplate assisting potential interns in finding a suitable connection either in business, industry or with labor organizations. If this phase of the program is successful, the name Opportunity Fellowships will certainly be warranted.

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"**THERE ARE TWO** other unique features of this program. The first is that the criterion for eligibility is evidence of special ability among those who have not had full opportunity to develop their talents because of arbitrary barriers.

"Consequently, not only are American Indians, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and Negroes expected to participate, but also white Americans who, because of region of residence, have suffered from artificial barriers to opportunity.

"Another new feature is that the Opportunity Fellowships are being administered by a member of a minority group. In the past, colored Americans have been recipients of fellowships, but the programs have been directed by white Americans. The John Hay Whitney Foundation has recognized the rapid rate of change in American race relations and in so doing, has offered a new type of opportunity for an American Negro.

• • •

"**LIKE MANY FELLOWSHIP** programs, this new one is designed primarily to assist younger people.

"It will make awards to men and women who want practical training in business and labor organization; it will grant fellowships to persons of talent who are interested in creative writing, creative arts and music; it will give assistance to college graduates who wish to pursue graduate work.

"In every case, successful candidates have to be 'mature enough to have given positive evidence of exceptional promise, yet young enough to have their careers before them'."

• • •

IS THIS THE OPPORTUNITY for you, or for someone you know? Here's a chance that should not be muffed, which we should hop on quickly at this time.

The final date for entering applications for this year's competition is Jan. 31, so there is no time to waste. If you think you need this opportunity, or if you have a friend who so thinks, you should write immediately for an application blank. Write to Dr. Robert C. Weaver, director, Opportunity Fellowships, John Hay Whitney Foundation, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

And don't get scared by what Dr. Weaver has said above about being young. You can be a grand pap (if you're no more than 35) and get in on this program.

• • •

IT GOES WITHOUT saying that much of the studying and the interning under this program will be done abroad for one-year (in some cases, two-year) periods. Grants will range from $1,000 to $3,000, depending on circumstances.

It is also hoped to obtain supplementary money from such sources as the Fulbright Fellowships for study in foreign countries, scholarships from universities and payment for certain types of apprentice work.

DID YOU PUT A SPECIAL DELIVERY STAMP ON THAT LETTER TO DR. WEAVER?

THE HORIZON

Maybe We Lived Too Close To E. R. Embree to Know How He Affected Human Relations

By P. L. PRATTIS

THE SCATTERED comment in some of our newspapers which has followed the death of Edwin R. Embree has given me renewed confidence in the evaluation of one's peers.

There is room to fear, sometimes, that even in death, the life of a man may not be properly appraised. There are many things which can happen in the course of a lifetime to cause a man to be misunderstood.

Mr. Prattis

All too often, death does not clear up the misunderstanding. As Shakespeare wrote: "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones." It is the good for which Edwin R. Embree is being properly noted.

* * *

EMBREE WAS MY personal friend. That is a fact to be added to the treasury of one's keepsakes. But the fact begins to have a lustrous meaning when you perceive that this warm-hearted, gay and charming man was really one of the great humanitarians of his time.

History, it is true, affords the enchanting view of those who have gone before. Thus, even for us of today, the names of Phillips, Garrison, Sumner and others stand as symbols of the apostles of freedom—our freedom.

Maybe we lived too close to Embree to know how properly he belonged to that galaxy of courageous men who have contended always against the shackles of mankind.

* * *

WE WILL BEGIN almost immediately to appraise all that Embree did and, in spite of ourselves, we shall be astonished when the full story is known. The definitive biography of Embree (which I hope some Negro will write) will make clear the measure of his capacity for creative leadership in the area of human relations.

It will show how tremendously he affected the human relations of his own land and his industry, by the ingeniousness of his planning, by his resourcefulness and by his relentless drive. He died in the harness.

The names of Rosenwald and Embree are naturally linked. There are some Negroes who have been critical of Rosenwald benefactions, many of which Embree administered. As a Negro living in 1950, I do not share the criticism of Rosenwald philanthropies exercised as in earlier generation. But, even if I did, the criticism would not carry to Embree.

* * *

EDWIN R. EMBREE wanted everything for the Negro in American life that he wanted for himself.

He did not want to dictate or to plan a way of life for the Negro. He wanted the Negro to be free to follow his own best course. He worked to have all barriers removed. He never questioned the Negro's capacity. He simply insisted that he be given a human being's chance.

In the stories about his death the list of books he wrote has been enumerated. The writing of books was only part of a plan. The plan was to persuasively help white people to understand all minorities in this nation. Embree was the moving spirit behind the organization of the American Council on Race Relations.

* * *

THE COUNCIL'S WORK was largely restricted to Northern and Western states. Why? Because, as Embree said, the South was not quite prepared to treat the Negro as the Council wanted him treated.

A few days ago, it was learned that an old civil rights law in the District of Columbia is to be given a test. Embree is directly responsible for this.

He supplied the funds for the organization of the National Committee for the Abolition of Segregation in the Nation's Capital.

* * *

THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS were spent to keep researchers for this committee on the job for a year. These researchers dug up the old, forgotten law which may change the face of things in the capital.

Space here certainly does not permit one to even indicate the superior ramifications of Embree's work. He was a genius in the field of human relations whom we shall surely miss. There is no other to take his place at this particular time.

"The thinking Negro refuses to accept the idea or even the theory that race prejudice is natural and inevitable, that it is inherent in the child, either white or black. He insists that it is acquired and cultivated, and that the greatest single aid to its cultivation is segregation." R. R. MOTON.

THE HORIZON

Union World Tour Students Handicapped by Domestic Indifference to Discrimination

By P. L. PRATTIS

IN THE FIGHT against communism (which many informed persons think the United States is losing), the State Department might wage more effective cold warfare if there were some way for it to come to terms with a recalcitrant Congress.

Mr. Prattis

Ironically enough, it seems to be the Congress that makes it most difficult for us to win friends and influence people abroad. Dominated by domestic political issues and prejudices, the Congress rejects opportunities to hit the Commies where it hurts worst and ignores some of the sound work the State Department is doing by making a scare issue out of alleged Reds in the State Department.

For one thing, so far as the State Department is concerned, there has been recognition of the vital effect which race relations in the United States have upon our relations with foreign nations, particularly where Russian propaganda is concerned.

There is much evidence to substantiate the claim that the State Department is pulling out all the stops to convince the rest of the world, particularly Europe, that the American Negro is not treated as badly in this country as the Russian Communists say he is.

* * *

REPRESENTATIVES of the Voice of America programs have been carting their microphones around and inviting American Negroes to tell their story of life in America.

These Negroes have been asked to tell the exact truth. But it is the hope of Voice of America that the truth from American Negroes, broadcast abroad, will help to neutralize the effect of Russian propaganda.

Shortly, some fifty American Negro college students will leave this country for a trip around the world in connection with the Crusade Against Communism of Virginia Union University. They will visit some twenty-five foreign countries and their first purpose will be to "crusade globally against communism."

The Russian Communists have told the peoples of the world (most of whom are colored) that the treatment of American Negroes in this country is so bad that these other nations should not trust the United States and be her friend. It is hoped that these students, being American Negroes themselves, will provide the living refutation to the Communist propaganda.

* * *

IT IS EASY to realize that the State Department would not clear the way for such a project if it did not deem it a necessary action in the cold war.

But while the State Department works in the foregoing and other ways that cannot be publicized at this time, the Congress refuses to act to ameliorate or eliminate discriminations which keep the Russian propaganda machine going.

How much can these visiting students counteract the simple fact that the Congress refuses even to discuss fair employment practices in this country. Recently, former Secretary of State George C. Marshall testified before a Senate Committee:

"Throughout Central and South America, in India, Japan and other Asiatic countries, in Africa, Italy and France, totalitarian expansion and the struggle against democratic forces is closely allied with anti-American propaganda. Every item of discrimination which can be shown to exist in the United States serves as fuel for the totalitarian propaganda machine. This propaganda machine rejoices at every job discriminatory practice, at every racist inference which it can truthfully describe as present in the U. S. We cannot fight propaganda with force. We must fight it with truth. Enactment of effective fair employment practice legislation will do more for American foreign policy than all of the statements about democracy made daily in our newspapers and propaganda organs."

General Marshall, of course, is correct.

* * *

WHILE IT WILL be helpful for the students participating in Virginia Union University's tour to see the rest of the world, all that they can tell the rest of the world about the United States will have little effect in combating communism so long as the discriminations which the Congress permits or ignores continue to exist.

ROGERS SAYS: Of Course Negroes Live Better Than Most Europeans; And So Do White Americans

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

I SAID recently that the Negro in America lives better than the average European. Judging by what I know of the "white" mind, especially from the letters of protest, these "superior" folk have been sending me over the years, I feel some will at once say, "Why then are American Negroes kicking?"

Mr. Rogers

But like the flowers that bloom in the spring, that has nothing to do with the case. It is true that the American Negroes do live better than their remotely related relatives in Africa; but do not American whites also live better than their relatives in Europe either near or distant? And as for the newly arrived white immigrant, does he not also live better? And it is fitting and proper that he should. He is a human being first and an alien next.

But, if as such, he deserves full opportunity what then of the Negro, who is not only also human, but has contributed so much to making the America the newly arrived white person finds it?

* * *

ANOTHER DANGER IN saying that Negroes in America live better than so many whites in their home-land is that the half-a-loaf Negro will sink into still greater contentment under jim crow.

Well, I've met quite a few Negroes here, native and alien, who have lived in America and would never think of returning. To them the United States is the last place on earth.

Some of the latter are well-to-do with fine homes; others are middling or poor. But they're self-respecting and thoughts of the degradation they once suffered have burned too deeply in to their souls.

* * *

AMERICA, THEY KNOW, is changing but it hasn't yet changed to the point where they can be full human beings as they are here. This belief is strengthened by each bit of racial discrimination in America which is published in the European press, and of which there is more than a little.

Of course, I do meet some Negroes who are eager to get to America, even though it were the South, but these so far as I know are in the minority. The whites are much more eager to do so. And this is understandable. Life in Europe is very tough as compared with the United States. America, is by a long shot the best in the world today for good wages, cost of living in proportion to earnings, and home comfort.

Wages in America are anywhere from three to six times as high for the same kind of work in France or England. A plumber gets something like $5 an hour in America and a bricklayer $3. In England they get about fifty cents.

* * *

A SIMILAR LOW figure is true of miners, laborers, clerks, etc. And here's the catch! Food and clothing cost almost as much as in New York. Londoners, for instance, looked shabbier to me than they did in 1937 and for a good reason.

There's a cheaper kind of clothing known as "utility" which most people buy because on the better grade of goods there is a "purchase" tax which is almost as much as the regular price.

To induce Americans to buy these better quality goods, the purchase tax is lifted, provided they get coupons from a bank when cashing checks. Goods so bought are not delivered to them while in England. It is sent to them on the boat on which they are leaving.

* * *

FOOD IN PARIS or London costs about the same as in New York and it is of lower quality. One can buy a good meal in a New York automat for a dollar. One can't anywhere in London or Paris. An American can thus save much more out of his earnings than a European.

A recent item in the English press said that saving-banks' deposits have been dropping. When I last heard of them in America they were rising.

The Parisian also looks much shabbier than when I last saw him. And no wonder. Clothes are as dear as in New York with wages surprisingly low in comparison.

* * *

A FRIEND OF mine I met here in 1925 and who has been working in a bank since 1923 and fought in two wars tells me he gets only 22,000 francs a month, or a little over $16 a week.

The Parisian girl, once noted for her chic, now looks rather shabby, too. Many New York colored girls now dress better than the average Parisienne, who nine out of ten, wear no stockings even on Sundays.

The ordinary working-girl gets something like $10 a week and how can she dress on that. Conditions are blamed on the Germans, who not only exacted a high indemnity for nearly five years but took much even of what was nailed down.

ROGERS SAYS: Mistreatment of Negroes By U. S. Gets Big Play In the Press of Europe

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

IN the past six weeks I've talked with more than a hundred persons of both "races" in England and France, and what struck me most was that nearly everyone thought American race relations worse than they really are.

And no wonder. It's the bad that is played up. The treatment of Heywood Patterson as told in "Scottsboro Boy" received extensive publicity in Europe. The conservative London Observer gave it a long review. My impression is son's treatment is held by many as typical of what goes on, not in Alabama, but in all the states.

Mr. Rogers

That is, even as we hold up Russia as a horrible example to all American citizens, so in England, France and Belgium—lands with African colonies and colored peoples at home, is America held up to make these colored peoples feel how thankful they ought to be they're not under her rule.

* * *

AS FOR EUROPEAN Negroes with white wives, many view America with much the same feelings a Jew did a Nazi. When I asked Seretse Khama whether he ever thought of coming to America, his instant reply was that he'd be sooner admitted even to Russia, meaning that Russia would not bar him because of his marriage, but America would.

On a London bus I met a man born in Scotland of Negro parents. He happened to be a cook at the hotel where I was staying and we had tea and a long chat. He was extremely bitter about America.

He said that in Seattle he and some white shipmates went into a bar and he was refused service. When he protested, the police were called and he was handled roughly, thrown into jail for the night, and fined next morning.

* * *

WHEN I TOLD him that wasn't characteristic of all the USA, especially the North, and that conditions had improved since, he asked what about the recent race riot in Chicago, which was much publicized in the European press.

I hate propaganda from no matter which side or sides, but I find many so convinced about extreme racial conditions in America that to save myself from being thought an Uncle Tom I just listen now.

And truth to tell the treatment from this distance looks worse to me than ever. When I see how the white masses live, how much farther down they are than large numbers of American Negroes, in short, that their paleness of skin color—that paleness so deified, so held up in America—gets the people here absolutely nothing, I see the American color line as the most atrocious swindle, the most lying, cheating ridiculous thing ever concocted to rob and exploit any part of the human race.

A FEW DAYS ago I took up some American Negro papers and read such items as these: Richmond, Va., court, the lawyers were "racially" separated; a Negro female professor was put out of a Pullman car into a hot, overcrowded, dusty, dirty jim-crow coach (an incident which once happened to me); a Negro fined in the South for refusing to sit jim crow; and three white players on a Negro ball team barred from playing in Birmingham, Ala.

It seems incredible that the American mind, or any part of it, can sink to such petty things, but as one ancient philosopher said, it is impossible to over-estimate the stupidity of mankind.

The case of Paul Robeson ment of the Negro as viewed and his passport created a stir, too. A prominent white Englishman, not at all friendly to Communists, said it was an admission of defeat by the State Department, in short, that Robeson was winning.

* * *

PERSONALLY, I THINK the cancellation of his passport was just the sort of thing we've been told to expect of Russia—that is, undemocratic and high-handed. I say this as one who disagrees with Robeson in his one hundred per cent endorsement of the Soviets. Russia is no more a model of freedom than America is in race relations.

Furthermore, what can Robeson add to the bad opinion already held abroad, some of which was summarized in the July Crisis. Then there's the bad "race" news being sent by foreign correspondents in the U. S.

Censoring that would be more effective than censoring Robeson. Why not go still farther and bar all Negroes from coming to Europe? Tasting freedom there often for the first time in their lives unfits them all the more for jim crow, and stirs in them less of that love and respect one ought to have for his native land.

ROGERS SAYS: Color Prejudice Is Definitely American; It Just Doesn't Exist as Such in Europe

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

IT IS no pleasure, believe me, for me to say anything but good of the land of which I am a citizen, but as I travel over these European lands and see how nice their people are to Negroes (I am writing this in Denmark where the people are especially so), one thought runs constantly through my mind, "Why are white Americans who are descendants of these people so different?"

Mr. Rogers

Of course, I speak broadly because there are American whites who, I believe, are as free from color prejudice as any European. In fact, I've been meeting some of them here, especially youths who are touring Europe, packs on their backs.

I've been coming to Europe since 1925 and not once has any European offended me in the least as regards color. And as I think of this some of the many indignities I've suffered in America come floating back to me, not because of any wrong I did but because nature saw fit to give me the complexion it did.

* * *

...**I RECALL THE** time in New York (it was 1911) when a waiter at a lunch counter slapped me in the face simply because I asked for a sandwich. I remember, too, the many times I was refused service in Los Angeles not to mention the South. In fact, I've been insulted because of color in at least forty of the forty-eight states and the District of Columbia.

Constantly flashing back into my mind are some of the racial clashes I've seen. The great Chicago riot of 1919 when I saw Negro and white dead lying in the streets and empty lots and the blaze of fire from the guns of Negroes when whites from the stockyards invaded their district.

Three riots have I witnessed in Harlem, the last one in 1943, when the whole of it seemed like the Europeon war zone. I speak only of what I've seen myself and not of the hundreds of riots and clashes I know as occurring in the last forty years.

I know that the instant answer many will make is that if Europe had as many Negroes it would be no different from America.

* * *

VERY WELL, LET'S take Southern Europe, especially Spain and Portugual. When the Moors, a mixed people like the American Negro and with even a stronger proportion of the unmixed African, conquered Spain in the eighth century there was no clash between them and the whites who were of German ancestry on the ground of color.

The big difference was religion. Later in 1440 and as late as 1773 when Negroes were brought to Portugal in such numbers that in Lisbon, itself, the number of blacks exceeded whites, there was still no color prejudice. In fact, the royal family itself had a Negro strain as a result.

The black man who, like the Jew, was not a Christian, had laws against him, however.

* * *

AS FOR NORTH Africa from Morocco as far as Egypt and even into Syria, Arabia and Palestine, whites and blacks have been living in color harmony and intermarrying for fifty centuries. Napoleon marveled when he saw in Egypt how whites, mulattoes and unmixed blacks lived in harmony while back in Haiti they were engaged in a three-cornered war.

Why was there no color clash in the above-mentioned lands? Because no one had ever thought up a doctrine of inferiority based on color of skin. Wherever there are no mischief-makers of this type human beings, as far as color is concerned, show the same intelligence in this respect as the so-called dumb animals.

Some kind of color, be it white or black, or any of the hundreds of shades between are they not natural to man, also?

* * *

NO, NO, RACIAL trouble in America goes much deeper than a mere difference of color. It is due to the distinctly inferior ethical standard that exists in America—that lack of respect we owe our fellowman no matter who he is, that disregard of his rights as a human being.

For instance, in a six-day tour of Copenhagen, I saw only two policemen. Even some of the busiest crossings had none. Later, I was told that at the water-front where the sailors are several could be seen.

In London, policemen are everywhere in evidence but they don't carry even a night-stick. The same is true of Paris. But the New York cop is armed to the teeth. He carries a huge revolver with a belt of cartridges, a handcuff, blackjack, and a stick. Much the same is true of most American cities I've seen, including those in which Negroes are few.

ROGERS SAYS: Research on Negro Ancestry In European Families Gives One Mental Stimulation

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

LAST week I said I went to Europe not only to be up-to-date on the international-racial situation, but to continue my research on Negro ancestry in European families. For two years, I had been studying Negroes in European heraldry, a field, I'm pretty sure, that had never been dug into before.

Mr. Rogers

I found thousands of Negroes—and I mean, thousands—in European coats-of-arms. A coat-of arms of a family is a symbol of its spirit, its soul. The same is true of that of a city or a country. In the British Museum and the National Library of France I was richly rewarded by others I found, especially in one German work of sixty-two volumes.

Of course, all the Negroes in heraldry do not typify founders of the white families which have them. Some of the blackmoors represent feats of arms in the Middle Ages when the whites fought Moorish domination in Western Europe, or exploration, and the like. But, that a great number of these wooly-haired blacks are founders of these noted white families cannot be doubted since they have names as Moor, More, Moore, Blackamoor, Blackmore, Negre (and even Negro), all terms once used in Europe for Negroes.

* * *

ONE SUCH IS one of the most illustrious of British families—the Moores of Yorkshire, one of whom was the very famous Sir Thomas More, (1478-1535) author of "Utopia" and Chancellor of Henry VIII.

"More" was then used for "Negro." The coat-of-arms of the great Sir Thomas shows a life-like Negro with rings in his ears. Two white genealogists to whom I showed it gasped in amazement. Mr. Milai will reproduce it with his usual exactitude for "Your History" in the near future.

Cities have Negroes in their coats-of-arms, too. Some have Black Virgin Marys and others Negro saints as St. Maurice, leading Catholic saint of Germany. And believe it or not, I found one that had St. Peter—the famous St. Peter of Rome—as a jet-black Negro holding the keys of the kingdom crossed on his breast.

This reminded me that the famous statue of St. Peter at Rome, whose big toe has almost been kissed off by the lips of the devout, is coal-black. Of course, the features are European, but the black color is symbolic of the black Christ and black Virgin Mary, by which color they were first known in Europe.

* * *

GODFREY HIGGINS, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, says that the earliest gods and messiahs, not only of India, Egypt, Persia, but of Europe, also were black.

After visiting Italy in 1814, he wrote, "There is scarcely an old church where some remains of the worship of the Black Virgin and Child are not to be met with."

Gerald Massey, noted English poet and Egyptologist, is equally certain also. Pommerol in his "Les Vierges Noires" (Black Virgins) published 1937, cites 230 in France, alone. In volume I of my "Sex and Race" I have fifteen pages of quotations of what some forty white writers, among them Romain Rolland, Anatole France and Georges Sand, have said.

Rolland, Nobel Prize winner, 1915, and author of "Jean Christophe," said, "If the mother of Christ was not a Negro woman, how does it happen she is black in France, Switzerland, Italy and Spain?" When, therefore, certain European cities have black Madonnas, black St. Peters, or black St. Maurices, in their coats-of-arms, their founders were following a venerated tradition.

* * *

NOW I CAN almost hear certain Negroes, learned and otherwise, saying, "What's the use of bringing up all this?" Well, what's the use of anything, even of life, to a man not interested in living.

What, too, were diamonds to the Negroes of South Africa before the coming of the whites? They merely kicked them about as worthless stones. But are they interested in them now?

One reason why Negroes should know these things is that large numbers of whites, even some of the most liberal, resent their being brought out. They dim the "glory" of the great white race, and reduce it to the level of ordinary mortals.

However, knowledge of every sort, helps us more to understand life. It broadens our vision. My researches have given me great mental stimulation. And so they have to others if I'm to judge by the hundreds of letters I've received.

For centuries the Negro has been crowded out, and is still being crowded out, of the history of human achievement. Why should that still go on? Please follow me on what I shall have to say on this next week. I think it's important.

P. S.: Several readers want to know where Wenzell Brown's "Dynamite On Our Doorstep" can be had. I've located twenty-five copies at H. H. Henry's Book Store, 1985 Seventh Avenue, New York City, $2.75.

ROGERS SAYS: Civil Rights Are Absolutely Dead, 'Cause C. P. Trussell Of the N. Y. Times Says So

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

THE CHORUS of discontent at the unkept promises of 1948 grows louder and louder. I hear it at meetings and from individuals and get it from letters from readers and in the Negro press.

And now that the 1950 campaign is about to be launched by Mr. Truman the white press is taking notice of what Negroes are saying.

Mr. Rogers

One editorial widely quoted in the white press is "Promises and Performances" from the Chicago Defender. The N. Y. Daily News, largest circulated American newspaper, gave it considerable space. The Defender, be it noted, was a strong Democratic supporter in the last election.

POINTING TO THE great difference between promises and performance, the Defender said, "The Democratic party as a whole seems to be suffering from indigestion. They have been eating too high on the hog and now are sleeping on a full stomach.

"The action promised by the Democrats in 1948 caught the imagination of the people. Now, two years later, we have more promises and few accomplishments. This lack of action is cause for grave concern among voters who turned the tide in '48 and may turn the tide again.

"The wishes of the people have been ignored and forgotten for the benefit of a small group of selfish men concerned only in maintaining their own little selfish political interests. "They have forgotten the people, but the people have yet to be heard."

* * *

WELL, SET ME down as one whose imagination was not caught by anything the Democrats promised, or for that matter, Republicans, either. I knew that since Woodrow Wilson in 1913, America is run from the South, its most anti-Negro section.

I recall, too, that The Courier once pointed out we can hope for nothing since, thanks to jim crow, poll tax, etc., and to the seniority rule that thirty-six of the fifty-two Congressional committees were chairmaned by Southerners.

Both before and after the 1948 election I said that nothing would be done. For instance, this from my column, Nov. 11, 1948, "The most anti-Negro part of this nation is again in power, placed there, it is said, by the Negro vote. Hope of relief from injustice by Federal legislation is thus farther away. I expect to enjoy many a cynical chuckle at the expense of deluded voters from next January (1949) on. As Harry Hopkins said, 'The people are just too d- - - dumb to understand'."

Striking proof of the above is given by C. P. Trussell in the N. Y. Times, April 15, 1950. I wish every Negro had read his article as it shows just what they and civil rights are up against. (The Times, by the way, is not anti-administration).

* * *

MR. TRUSSELL SHOWS why civil rights are absolutely dead. He quotes Senator Hill of Alabama, who in a radio speech boasts what he, and Stennis and Eastland of Mississippi have done to bury its corpse.

"The poll-tax," said Hill, "is bottled up today in a subcommittee of the Senate Rules Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. I led the fight in committee against the FEPC bill and the committee dropped it like a foundling on the Senate's doorstep—without a word in its favor.

"If our group of Southern Senators is to continue to defeat these civil rights bills, we must keep the power and influence we hold as members of the Democratic party. I also warn the Republicans are committed to civil rights." (Hill is talking to the Dixiecrats).

And they will hold that power. There is no hope of their being defeated in 1950. Please note that the man to whom civil rights is entrusted is none other than that most notorious Negrophobe, Eastland, who while Negroes were dying on the battlefields in the last war, was heaping lies, slander and venom against them.

* * *

AS FOR MR. TRUMAN, while I am strongly inclined to believe he is sincere, any promise he might make for 1950 will count for no more than any made in 1948. He can do little, if anything. His Southern Democratic bosses won't let him.

Moreover, for every one job there are a hundred deserving Democrats, white, who will always be served before Negroes. The Afro recently had a very fitting cartoon.

It showed two bar-bells, one very heavy marked "Civil Rights" and one very small marked "Presidential Appointments." Mr. Truman, straining at the first is saying, "I can't lift this alone." "But," says the cartoon, "what about that little weight over there, Mr. President?"

Courier Pittsburgh Sat. 4-29-50

ROGERS SAYS: It Will Be 2050 Before Jim Crow Is Ruled Out at the High Court's Current Pace

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

THE EXTREME difficulty of passing a Federal FEPC bill becomes more and more apparent.

There are three formidable barriers: color prejudice, states' rights and the feeling that it infringes personal liberty even in the employment of whites. A strong argument used against it in the Florida primary was Truman's own words to Drew Pearson re Gen. Vaughan, "No s.o.b. is going to tell me who to fire and who to hire."

Mr. Rogers

There's also a belief that FEPC is a Jewish plot to win over Negroes and then use them. I have before me a pamphlet charging just that. Now that the Jew is no longer a power in Europe, the USA is the leading anti-Semitic nation—not in words but in feeling. The recent war in Palestine and militant Zionism here has increased greatly American consciousness about Jews for the worse, I fear.

The simple truth is that Christianity and Judaism are implacable enemies—have been for 1800 years. Any friendliness between them is largely on the surface. The anti-Semitic effusions of Pegler, Pelley, Smith, Williams, find ready response in millions who are not of the lunatic fringe. The South is anti-Semitic, on the whole.

* * *

THE CIO IS also said to be out to capture the Negro and use him against capital. But were even FEPC passed it would be more difficult to enforce than prohibition since America lives in color prejudice as a fish in water. Millions think it is a sign of good Americanism.

The states don't like FEPC either. Most of them feel that Washington has already too much say in their internal affairs, and especially in the siphoning of taxes they need.

Truman's own party in the Senate isn't for it, either. Of his fifty-four, only nineteen were for closure as against thirty-three of the forty-two Republicans. But did the fifty-two who voted in favor really want FEPC? If my memory were poorer, I could be more optimistic.

What has been happening for the past forty years—twenty Congresses—is still fresh in my mind. I recall the many anti-lynching bills and the arguments to reduce Southern representation, all of which ended only in talk.

FAR EASIER THAN FEPC would be abolition of jim crow in Washington. But when this came to a vote recently in the House only nineteen were for it. If Congress can't (or won't) lift a pebble, how will it move a mountain? Ah, but if it only makes enough noise the dear public will think something's being done.

* * *

WE'LL SEE CLEARER its immense waste of time if we recall that the remedy for most of the evils of segregation has been lying in the Constitution since 1868.

The Supreme Court could outlaw jim crow by a single decision, that is, just how it made it legal when in 1896 it nullified the Civil Rights Act of 1875 giving Negroes equal rights with whites.

Note this: While the Supreme Court took away the Negro's rights in a lump, it is returning them only in dribs and drabs.

I recall the outlawing of the grandfather clause in 1915 and its periodic nibblings against segregation since. This piecemeal restoration makes one think of a doctor who doles out a remedy so that the patient's illness will last as long as possible.

At this rate it will be 2050 before jim crow is finally ruled out. The exploitation of Negroes through segregation is now big business, you see, and the Supreme Court intends to handle it gently. In the meantime this long litigation is costing Negroes plenty.

EVEN SOUTH AFRICA, backward as it is in justice, has gone us one better. Its highest court recently declared the jim-crow car illegal. Thus, I, for one, can't join in the great jubilation over the decisions of June 5. If one is entitled to a full loaf why should he be excessively thankful for a few slow crumbs from it?

As I said, FEPC seems a pipe-dream; still every effort must still be made to pass it. The agitation for it is doing plenty of good. It has thrown jim crow into the open as never before with the President and many of the leaders of the nation attacking it.

The fight against slavery started the same way. In time to come a greater sense of justice and respect for the rights of the individual, regardless of color, will be aroused in all those who are capable of these higher sentiments.

One thing is sure: the FEPC fight is making right-thinking Americans see more and more that the jim-crow profiteers and politicians have been using them as tools.

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 6-24-50

ROGERS SAYS: Spanish-Americans Are Quite As Prejudiced as U. S. Whites But Conceal Their Sentiments

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

CUBA drops mention of color on her passports. Very good. Now if this can only be followed by a campaign to get rid of her color discrimination!

Her unmixed blacks and near-blacks have not been treated very well though they furnished most of the fighters in her wars for freedom as well as some of the leading commanders as Planas, Moncada and Quintin Bandera.

Mr. Rogers

In 1898 when Spain had been driven out the blacks had to fight their fairer comrades for some of the freedom they had helped win. They formed a Negro party but it was outlawed in 1910 by the Morua law, fathered by a mulatto of that name. In 1912, led by two black generals of the revolution, Estenoz and Ivonet, they broke into open revolt and some 3,000 of them were killed. Matters grew so serious American Marines were landed. The latter had no hand in the great slaughter, however.

* * *

MOST OF THE blame for this color uprising was placed on the Americans but the simple truth is that there had been strong color prejudice in Cuba long before there was a United States.

In Cuba, as in all the lands south of the Rio Grande, except Mexico (where the blacks were absorbed) the whites—especially the old families—and the near-whites are at the top.

Below these are two or three mulatto castes while at the bottom are the blacks and near-blacks. These grades were established by the pioneers and because these lands are still largely agricultural the system has become stratified.

* * *

EXCEPT IN COUNTRIES with native Indians, as Peru, Colombia and Ecuador the blacks are still at the bottom, and form a proletariat like the European peasants of the Middle Ages.

Of course, in all of those lands, including the British West Indies, certain very exceptional blacks and dark mulattoes are permitted to reach fairly high positions but in purely social affairs they are barred by the whites and light mulattoes.

A news item from Jamaica, West Indies, recently said that the blacks were trying to win from the mulattoes something like the FEPC which American Negroes are trying to get from the whites here.

* * *

THERE IS NO jim-crow law south of the Rio Grande except the Canal Zone but unwritten social laws work almost as effectively to keep the blacks "in their place."

The earliest white and near-white pioneers used the mulattoes as a buffer between themselves and the blacks, and to keep down the blacks. In the North American colonies the whites, after they had overcome the first shock of the Indians, no longer needed the blacks for defense and classed blacks and mulattoes together.

All Negroes, they said, looked alike. Even the Indian, now subdued, was raised above them. The result is that in the United States blacks and mulattoes mixed freely, thus permitting no third caste to arise.

* * *

WHEREAS AMERICA has a single color line some West Indies islands have at least four. I think it's safe to say that in certain Northern cities like New York, Boston and Chicago an unmixed black has a far better chance of breaking into the white caste and even marrying there than in most of the Latin-American lands.

In the British West Indies marriage of native white and near-white women with blacks is very rare. Most of such white women are European, chiefly English, married while the blacks were studying in Europe.

Because there are no jim-crow laws south of the Rio Grande and because the bar against the mulatto is not so strong as here—most of the Latin-American countries have had at least one president of Negro ancestry — color prejudice seems almost non-existent in comparison with the United States. But, it's as deeply rooted there. Moreover, I think the problem will be solved in the United States before it is in most Latin-American lands.

* * *

AMERICA'S JIM-CROW laws furnish a clear target but the prejudice south of the Rio Grande, based as it is only on custom, is far more difficult to attack, the more so as the rise of a few exceptional blacks create an illusion of freedom for the whole.

B. Ruiz, a Cuban, in his "Color Line in the Two Americas," comes very near the truth when he says, "The Spanish Americans, perhaps quite as prejudiced as the American white . . . know how to conceal their sentiment with the mantle of specious kindness and to throw the same cloak of their hidden but nonetheless keen prejudice over the eyes of the colored people, who, with rare exceptions, are satisfied to trust in the hypocritical fraternity of their masters."

Blacks, he said, are taught to believe they have identical aspirations and opportunities with whites and light mulattoes but that it isn't so.

ROGERS SAYS: Negroes Are Breaking Into Fields Today That Would Amaze Their Grandfathers

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

NEGROES are breaking into fields today that would amaze their grandfathers, and even their fathers.

In the past few weeks three of them have won top-notch awards: Gwendolyn Brooks, a Pulitzer Prize; Roy Eaton, the Chopin Prize, Ulysses Key, a much coveted Prize de Rome.

Mr. Rogers

Of course, they had never been lacking in ability to do anything possible to other members of the human race, any more than did the Northern Europeans of whom the ancients as Aristotle, Cicero, Tacitus, and even Moorish writers of the eleventh century wrote as badly of, as later travelers wrote of the Negroes of Central Africa.

Sir Richard Burton in his "Wit and Wisdom of West Africa" (1865) said Americans were quite wrong in regarding Negroes as an inferior race. He said he had seen them in their own land, heard them speak in their own language, and that when he attended examinations of Negro youths in Sierra Leone and saw their splendid work in "algebra, geometry, Latin, Greek, Hebrew—then I confess any other idea never entered my mind but that I had to do with real men."

* * *

AS EARLY AS then, Africans had been going to study in England and graduating with high honors.

The father of Coleridge Taylor, coming almost "out of the African jungles," won highest honors in medicine in England and at only twenty-two was elected to the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, an exceptional honor for one of his age.

Emerson truly said, "If you have man, black or white is an insignificance. The intellect—that is miraculous! Who has it, has the talisman; his skin and bones though they were the color of night are transparent and the everlasting stars shine through with attractive beams."

* * *

THINK OF WHERE the Negroes of the United States would be now if for three centuries their intellect had not been deliberately suppressed even to the extent of making it a crime to teach them.

In the meantime, some of the ruling caste were writing treatises on the "inferiority" of Negro mentality and the Negro brain. Some of these writers are still alive. It would be interesting to hear them defend their theories in the light of what is happening.

In the exact sciences — the highest form of intellectual achievement, that is, such as surgery, chemistry, dentistry, mathematics, engineering, biology, anatomy, architecture—Negroes are progressing as the severe winter of prejudice retreats and the springtime of opportunity arrives.

"American Men of Science" has seventy-six of them in the natural sciences, and there are others to be listed. Only thirty years ago there was probably none.

* * *

THESE MEN HAVE to deliver the goods. A man might write a book, make a political speech, or preach a sermon that wins applause and yet have it full of errors.

But if he fills a tooth, performs an operation, or puts up a bridge, he must stick to reality or else. The Great Pyramid erected 3000 B. C. still stands. But if its architect had made errors in calculation that Aristotle made in his Natural History, the Pyramid wouldn't be there now.

There is a very great difference in the minuteness of accuracy necessary for a Ph.D. in chemistry and a Ph.D. in history; an M. Sc. and an M. A.; a D. D. S. and D. D. Abraham Lincoln comparing the difference between what is practical and what is dependent upon opinion (which is often ill-informed) said, "An honest laborer digs coal at seventy cents a day while the President of the United States digs abstractions at about $70 a day.

The coal is clearly worth more than the abstractions."

* * *

WHAT I'M TRYING to say is that in those fields which make for solid human betterment some Negroes are up in front with the best of the whites, as Professor Hinton of Harvard, Dr. Montague Cobb of Howard, and Percy Julian.

In the lesser fields—lesser because the amount of error possible in them is much greater—as sociology, literature, law, politics, the same can be said.

Of course, the number of capable Negroes is much smaller by "racial" percentage, still there are enough of them to fill such posts as President, cabinet minister, judge of the U. S. Supreme Court, Senator, Governor and Ambassador.

Prejudice, not lack of ability, is what is keeping them out. But another fifty years, or less, will see a vast change.

ROGERS SAYS: A Wealth of Negro History Is Buried In Europe's Libraries

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

IT'S GOOD to be back in the USA. Compared with Europe, America seems almost to be in another world. Europe was even more badly set back by the war than I had imagined. America's standard of living is incredibly higher.

My unwavering impression, though, is that in courtesy and friendliness the Europeans are as far ahead of us as we are of them in everyday comforts and conveniences. And I'm not thinking alone of their attitude toward Negroes.

Mr. Rogers

The food situation is, on the whole, bad. In England, synthetic fish (called synfish) is being introduced, and rationing allows you an egg a week or a dozen for three months. I lost eighteen pounds and it wasn't fat, either.

* * *

HOWEVER, SOME OF that was because I got around a lot learning what I could. But what I lost in weight I more than gained in information. I now know so much better what I'm talking about.

I got first-hand impressions of what Europeans in all walks of life think of America, of the preparations for World War III, and of Korea. I shall tell about them, but first I must thank most heartily all those who did so much to put me in touch with what I wanted to know.

They are too many to call by name but there are three I must mention: Ivor Cumming of the Colonial Office and Frank Wilson and Ted Gordon of the Caribbean Club.

MR. CUMMINGS, A native of Sierra Leone, took me in hand, introduced me to leading officials in African and colonial work and had one of his aides, Mr. Thomas, take me around to labor offices and welfare agencies where I learned much of what Negroes are doing in London and how the humbler ones fare.

Mr. Wilson made me an honorary member of the Caribbean Club, which I found not only the liveliest and most interesting place of its kind in London but the best for gathering all kinds of information.

I went there almost every night for a month, meeting interesting folk — Negro physicians, engineers, lawyers, flyers who had helped bomb Germany, singers, writers, musicians and famous cricketers. Of the whites were members of the nobility, novelists, actors, writers on some of the big London papers, and others.

* * *

ONE OF THE chief things that took me across was research in Negro history. I have been discovering in recent years that Negroes played a much more important role in the development of Europe than I dreamed of, and since 1937, I had been filling my notebooks with facts I wanted to check on in the libraries and museums there.

Due to changes made by the war and the rearrangement of collections, as well as insufficient time, I could accomplish only a little of what I had hoped to. For instance, the British Museum had been bombed and most of the exhibits are now only being taken from storage, the halls being closed meanwhile.

In France, exhibits had often been rearranged and some of what I wanted to find had either been shifted to other museums or was in storage, all of which would take a lot of time to track down. However, I did find much I hadn't expected.

* * *

FOR INSTANCE, IN the National Library of France I found what is probably the first history on the Negro ever written. It is by a Spanish priest, Alonso de Sandoval, and was published in 1627. In it I read of three Negro Catholic saints of whom I had never heard.

In Copenhagen, too, I saw sculptures of Negroes of ancient Egypt I hadn't seen even in Cairo or any of the big collections in other parts of Europe and America.

Also in the Musee de l'Homme (Museum of Man) of Paris in the Chaillot Palace, I found some very fine exhibits of Negro art, some of it as far back as 15000 B.C.

* * *

BOTH THE LIBRARY of the British Museum and the National Library of France are very rich in material but it is difficult to find. Their catalogues, being an inheritance of the past, are not boiled down into one as in the American libraries. It takes plenty of time and if one gets four or five books a day, he's lucky.

However, in what I wanted most to find—Negro ancestry in the noble European families—I was most fortunate, and I'm pretty sure that when I tell of them I'm going to be regarded as more of a historical "Munchausen" than ever (Münchausen, as you know, was the world's biggest liar).

Still I didn't draw those pictures of which I am having photostats made. What some of these are I'll say next week.

ROGERS SAYS: The Tragedy of Negroes History Is That White Writers Ignore the Facts

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

OF THE many varieties of the human race the two who have met and mingled longest and most are what are known as Negro and Caucasian. Certain white scientists say they were mating 10,000 or more years ago; others even say that the whites are a bleached-out black race. Let's remember that Africa and Europe were once joined and that Europe was tropical.

Mr. Rogers

This, however, is as sure as sunlight: Since the historic period, or about 8,000 years ago, whites and blacks have been mating. They did abundantly in Egypt, all North Africa and Rome. Blacks invaded Europe under Hannibal and for centuries after 711 A. D.

Later, for 600 years, Moors and other Africans raided the ships and coasts of Europe for slaves. White women and black were a part of Negro, mulatto and white harems in all Islam.

* * *

NEGROES ALSO CAME to Europe as soldiers. They came in under the Greeks and Romans. And they are still coming in, there to mate with white women and have mulatto children. And as for what has happened in all the New World, why bring that up?

Since this is true—only an ignoramus will say it isn't—why should there be doubt or surprise when certain white European scholars, free from American color prejudice, say that Beethoven, Haydn, Goethe, Martin Luther and some royal families as the English and the Swedish, had some Negro ancestry, and that the Virgin Mary was originally known as black?

To turn back now to what I said last week of Negro ancestry in leading white European families (and through them into white American ones), I asked then, why shouldn't these facts be brought up? The answer is plain.

* * *

WHILE WHITE HISTORY begins with the glorious Greeks, it starts out with the Negroes as slaves dragged from cannibal feasts in Africa, not to mention the curse of Ham dooming them to servitude to white people.

The whole purpose of such teaching was to make Negroes feel that they had no part in what later became "white" civilization. In short, that there wasn't any hope for them except to produce for white masters.

Why should not world history now be rewritten to include the Negro's part in it? The answer to that is up to Negroes.

* * *

SO FAR WE'VE left work of this sort to white philanthropists, as indeed we've done to most of the things in our life that really count. Almost every Negro, prominent in the public eye, has been pushed up there by white liberals, and when that has been done only then do Negroes begin to cry hurrah for him.

But when it comes to putting the Negro in his place in history, which is important for world peace and brotherhood, your white philanthropist and white editor are not going to do it.

And were I white, be hanged if I'd give money to be used to take the glory I've been taught that inheres in my pale skin.

* * *

SOME EIGHTEEN YEARS ago a friend tried to get me a Rosenwald grant. The foundation replied (I have the letter somewhere), that it didn't give money for what I was doing.

The same year, however, it gave $1,000 to one of its Negro favorites for a vacation in Japan. Please note I'm not kicking. I'm glad now I didn't get it, because I've gained strength, not to mention independence, by being on my own.

I've been carrying on for thirty-five years without white support. I've dug up my material, assembled it, published it, and sold it to pay the printer. The Carnegie Institution gave Gunnar Myrdal $209,000 for preparation of his "American Dilemma." And he had a host of helpers.

* * *

MY "WORLD'S GREAT Men of Color, 3000 B. C. to 1946, A. D.," which I hold is a bigger undertaking, I did alone. While Myrdal's is largely opinion, mine is historical research through tens of thousands of books and articles.

There was also vast research on the portraits, some 150 of them. And I hold that my book has greater ultimate social value. Treating as it does of the deeds of great Negroes, 200 of them, it is a sort of Plutarch, whose "Lives" have been an inspiration for 2000 years.

Yet the white critics ignored my book and because they did, snooty Negro scholas did, too.

* * *

THE SAME WAS true, too, of my "Sex and Race" (Three Volumes) which I did alone and published myself, and which was used as an authority in the printed brief to the Supreme Court in jim crow on dining cars.

Now get this straight. I'm not complaining. I love my work. One must when one carries on in any field without financial reward for thirty-five years.

But due principally to letters from, and interviews with, Negro students and youths, I feel that something must be done to lift Negro history from the low

level to which it is being held. What I propose, I'll say next week.

ROGERS SAYS:

A Conspiracy of Silence Exists on the Negro's Contributions to History

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

STUDENTS of Queens College, New York City, are continuing the fight begun last April by those of City College against "The Growth of the Republic" by Prof. Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard, and Prof. Henry Steele Commager of Columbia, a book which so belittles the role of the Negro that it reduces it almost to nothing.

Mr. Rogers

Readers of this column will recall that I discussed this most unjust book in the issues of April 8, 15, and 22, 1950. As I said then, it is being used in some 500 colleges in America.

Due to the protest some changes have been made in a new edition, but they are quite unsatisfactory to the students.

* * *

THE PASSAGE IN which Negroes are referred to as "Sambo" remains, I have been told by Miss Rosalie King, president of the Queens College chapter of the NAACP, who asked me which work on American history I thought could be used in which the Negro's very important part in the development of this nation, came anywhere near to getting fair play.

Alas, I know of no such single book. Of course, I know very many suitable excerpts in many books, but what is wanted is a history in which these facts are incorporated.

Perhaps somewhere there is such a book, published or unpublished, but be sure, it will not be accepted for general use. For one thing most Southern colleges wouldn't use it, and the publishers wouldn't make much on it.

* * *

ONE THING, ALSO, Negroes need to get into their heads and keep it there, is the fact jim crow is big business in America. Probably billions of dollars are made off it yearly and you have a devil of a time killing off anything that brings profit.

To get this profit, Negroes must be kept down and their good qualities soft-pedalled. The slave master did that and his policy continues. Rest assured it will be a long time before the Negro's faithful and important role in America gets its due in any textbook on American history for general use.

The same is true of world history, where the Negro always begins as a slave. I'm sick, sick, sick of always that. Of course, Negroes were slaves as far back as you go in history. They were slaves to other Negroes. But were not whites also slaves to other whites even before the dawn of history. Why rub it in the case of the Negro? Whites were slaves in Russia till 1861.

* * *

FURTHERMORE, JUST AS Negroes were slaves to whites, whites were slaves to Negroes even here in the United States. And the slavery of whites to Negroes and Negroid whites began long before the former and lasted longer. Whites were slaves in ancient Egypt.

Modern Negro slavery lasted from 1440-1886 (when it was abolished in Cuba), but for more than a thousand years whites were captured on the coasts of Europe and on ships and sold into slavery in Africa.

Even American whites were captured by Moorish sea-rovers and sold into slavery as far south as Timbuctoo. We have accounts by several of such.

* * *

TO HAVE HAD slave ancestors is no disgrace. Plato, one of the greatest thinkers of all time, and himself an ex-slave, wrote over 2,000 years ago: "Kings have slave ancestors and slaves, kings as ancestors."

That has been true ever since. Furthermore, there are free-born whites and Negroes, who have the soul of slaves; and those born of slaves, or of slave ancestry, who have the souls of freemen.

We've had enough of the Negro as a slave. This is a new age with a new vision of humanity. The great need today is a broader non-racial history in which the relations of whites and other "races," especially Negroes, are told free of master-race propaganda.

* * *

FOR YEARS I'VE been at work on such a book, one that goes back to Egypt and will be well-documented from the best sources and with pictures. But I know that the fate of this work will be that of all my others, namely, that everything on it will be left to me.

For the past thirty years there has been a conspiracy of silence on my work by white liberals and the Negroes whom these liberals run. For instance, in the New York Central Library there is an exhibit of works on the Negro, chiefly by Negro authors, and arranged by Negroes.

So far eight persons have asked me why nothing about me or my books appeared in the exhibit though the library has all my books. Now, I'm used to this sort of thing and just don't care. I merely state a fact.

* * *

IT HAPPENS THAT I had looked at the exhibit before and hadn't noticed that none of my works was there. It was only on my second visit that I verified what others had told me.

Now, I feel that self-respecting Negroes should not take the belittling of their history, especially by those who claim to be their friends, lying down. As for me, I intend to carry on and would like to hear from those interested, so that some definite plan could be formed to put it over.

ROGERS SAYS:

Discrimination in America Is Given More Attention In Foreign Press Than Realized

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

THE GOOD white folk of Dixie love to think of jim crow as their "peculiar" institution. They deeply resent any critism of it ever by fellow citizens from the North. Well, it is now no longer a sectional or even a national issue because the whole world is cutting in.

Mr. Rogers

Clear proof of this appears in the July Crisis where James W. Ivy reviews more than 500 clippings from the daily and periodical press of ten European countries between 1948 and 1950.

The countries are England, France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, Portugal and Rumania. The articles range from radical Communist to conservative Catholic and represent every shade of public opinion.

* * *

COMING AS THEY do from forty papers and some of the leading thinkers of Europe they sum up to a terrible indictment against racism here. And it would have been far worse had Russia, Communist China, Brazil and the Moslem countries been included.

Some of the articles are undoubtedly inspired by dislike for the U. S. But, as The Courier recently said editorially in the case of the Russians, here is one instance they don't have to lie. "All the articles," says Mr. Ivy, "expose the moral cancer of American racism in contrast to our stultiloquence about individual freedom and the American way of life.

"We preach equality but practice racism and this moral turpitude makes Uncle Sam the grotesque mountebank of 'the free world'."

* * *

SOME ARTICLES ARE firsthand reports of foreign correspondents and are lavishly illustrated with pictures of lynchings, riots, and ghettoes. There are headlines like these, "Is the Negro a Man?" "American Untouchables," "Odor of Burning Flesh," and "Lincoln or Lynch." Many of the clippings deal with the Talmadge election, the Dixiecrat revolt, the Georgia prison-camp massacre, the murder of Isaiah Nixon, and the "Trenton Six." In a Czecho-Slovak parade two bound Negroes are seen being led off to death by the Klan.

The Swiss writers were particularly sensitive. One said, "The groans of the American Negro are beginning to be heard throughout the world." Another said that in America when he asked why Negroes were treated thus the more "sensible" whites replied, "Negroes are inferior; just overgrown, untrustworthy children." Less liberal whites said, "They are liars, drunkards and thieves."

This writer had his own opinion, however. "It is to maintain and spread racism as an arm of America's great trusts," he said, and to keep the Negro "a docile and ill-paid worker." Another calls Negroes "Displaced Persons" though they "have a much older lineage than the great majority of whites."

* * *

C. M. JOAD of England finds this another proof that American influence "corrupts, infects and pollutes everything it touches." The London News Review raps America for its "hypocritical horror at persecution in Europe and allegedly the British Empire" while shutting "its eyes to the inequalities of the American way of life for the Negro."

The Germans, whom we are now so busily shepherding into the democratic fold, blast jim crow in the Army of Occupation and the efforts made to force them into drawing a color-line. One German writer calls America "culturally backward" and one in Rumania says that while America might for a time appear to be the hope of the world her color line and segregation make it clear she isn't. Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Belgian writers are equally emphatic.

The French are the most severe of all. Some of their leading writers, visitors to America, as Sartre, Duhamel, Claude Roy, Simone de Beauvior, pull no punches. And they are justified, too, because there is simply no comparison between France's treatment of the Negro and that of the United States, go back three centuries if you will. Today a Negro is President of the French Senate; in America a Negro is not even a page there.

* * *

THE FRENCH ARE shown as angry at the treatment of American-born Josephine Baker on her last visit here. She is one of their most beloved citizens. She impoverished herself and risked her life for France in the war, and for which she was given its most valued decoration, Medal of the Resistance.

In New York Miss Baker and her white husband, Jo Bouillon, were put out of one hotel and refused in others because of their "large Southern clientele."

ROGERS SAYS:

Although America Is No Paradise for Negroes, It Is the Best Possible Land

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

ON BOARD THE FRENCH LINER DeGRASSE—America is not a paradise for those with a dark skin, but though I am going to lands where I will be leaving the color-line far behind I felt a certain nostalgia in parting.

On the pier, too, were dear friends waving me good-by. I hated to part from them and others not present. Still I thought the probability of seeing them again was great. What of those going off to war in Korea and the chaances of seeing their loved ones again?

Mr. Rogers

One of the first things that struck me aboard was the friendliness of everyone to everyone else. What a fine thing if everybody everywhere could get along like this. And why shoudn't they? Then I remembered the old legend about our "first" parents in Eden and knew that if all these people so cordial and friendly were to be cast away on some desert isle, permanent differences would soon develop.

* * *

AND I WASN'T long in proving that. I made friends around and in the conversations Korea and communism inevitably came up. Nearly all were anti-Communist and thought it a positive waste of time for America or Trygvie Lie to engage in any kind of peace talk with Russia, which they felt was out for world domination and would bend any such palavers to serve that purpose.

America, some admitted, was out for world domination, too, but that domination was legitimate since it is commercial and therefore non-military. Trade has always been a bond among peoples and American inventions and labor-saving devices would be of immense benefit to the peoples of the world.

I admitted that was true provided American capital was not used, as in parts of Africa, to make rich exploiters of black labor richer and thus increase the burdens of her already oppressed peoples.

* * *

SOME HAD READ Toledano's "Seeds of Treason," which deals with the Alger Hiss case, and were amazed at its revelations of the power of the Communists in the State Department in the twelve years of Roosevelt. No wonder, some said, that America's experiences in Korea so far have been unfortunate.

The pro-Communists were as emphatic that the Soviets were right and that America had started the war for "world domination." They were, however, more dogmatic, and that's to be understood since they are on the defensive.

Several anti-Communists saw the danger of the obsession against communism now gripping America. Anyone with an obsession, be it color, creed or communism, is already beaten because he ends by becoming a mere tool of it.

* * *

SOME ANTI-COMMUNISTS were very emphatic against the imprisonment of the ten Hollywood writers simply because they refused to say whether they were Communist or not. It was a vital attack on the liberty of the citizen, some felt.

Among those who said that the obsession against communism could lead to fascism was Dr. Ernst Schwarz, national executive secretary of the Committee on Latin-American Affairs of the CIO, whose president is Jacob Potofsky. The CIO, he said, is strongly opposed to any kind of dictatorship whether of the right or the left.

Dr. Schwarz who recently returned from the Canal Zone said the CIO was greatly interested in the fight of colored workers there. The latter are on the silver standard, as oposed to the whites who are on the gold standard and their condition is "terrible," he said.

* * *

BUT THE CIO is organizing them and hopes to better conditions soon. The colored workers, he said, are actually men without a country. Dr. Schwarz is to attend a labor conference in Brussels.

As for the color-line it seems to be left a million miles behind. There's not a single sign of it in anyone. There are six of us colored folk in first-class—Mr. and Mrs. Haddis Alemayehou of the Ethiopian Embassy in Washington, who are returning to Ethiopia, and Mr. and Mrs. Bert Stewart of Chicago, and their daughter, Barbara Lee.

Mr. Stewart operates a taxicab business. There is also Wendell Jeanpierre of New Orleans, a veteran, who is going to study in Paris. He is very enthusiastic about The Courier and asks me to be sure to say that he used to sell it as a boy.

ROGERS SAYS: The Englishman's Racial Bias Is Strongest Where Negroes Compete for Jobs

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

I SAID recently that the Englishman at home is very much kindlier to colored people than most of his compatriots in the colonies.

Striking proof of this occurred recently in Tanganyika, East Africa, when John Dugdale, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, who has been making an official tour of Africa, walked out of an affair given in his honor and that of his wife because his hosts insisted on drawing a color-line.

Mr. Rogers

He had made it known that there should be none, so to get around it they held it at a private home instead of a hotel.

* * *

WHEN HE STILL protested, one settler remarked, "If you would eat with Africans I'd sooner eat with pigs"—a statement with which most whites of East and South Africa will agree.

Of Kenya, which ranks next to South Africa as a hell for black people, Mr. Dugdale said: "The Settlers of Kenya have views diametrically opposed to those of His Majesty's Government."

This is true, more or less, in all the British colonies, including those of the New World. The closer one gets to the center of imperialism, the better the attitude towards subject peoples.

* * *

IN NONE OF the colonies is there so little color prejudice as in England. Jamaica, itself, has some five or six social color lines. In England, the black man, if he has money, not only goes where he pleases in public places but is accepted in private homes.

Truth to tell, I found a minimum of color prejudice in Britain; and such as it is, it seems mostly against those very dark persons without money.

When I see the ease with which whites and blacks meet, especially the ready acceptance of the darkest men by apparently respectable white girls, I am more than ever convinced that the statement there's a natural hostility between white and black is one of the biggest and most atrocious lies ever told.

* * *

HUMAN BEINGS, regardless of color, will get along together when no jim-crow exploiter steps in to sow poison in their brains.

The home government, realizing how much the goodwill of the colored peoples means to the future of the empire, is seeing that Negroes in Britain are better treated. In fact there's a vast difference between what I saw in 1937 and now.

Of course, work was scarce then and the whites felt they had the first right to it. Now it's plentiful. I had a long talk with J. L. Keith, director of colonial students, and he said: "Anybody who can and will work can get a job." He added: "Most of the colored people sincerely want to work."

* * *

THERE ARE SOME shiftless ones, he said, and now and again some magistrate will attack Negroes but that if most of them were what some said they were "we wouldn't be able to carry on our work."

I went to one large labor exchange where whites and Negroes were being employed and will tell what I saw another time.

Figures shown me by Mr. Keith gave 4,193 colonial students in England. Of these 1,484 are on scholarships financed by the Government. A total of 599 for both categories are studying law; 537, medicine; 406, engineering, and 730, nursing.

* * *

IN ADDITION, THERE are practicing nurses in many of the hospitals. One, The Mile End, has six, three of whom are West Africans and three West Indian. I understand these black nurses are very popular with the patients. I shall say more of them after I visit the hospitals.

Mr. Keith, who had just returned from a six-week visit to the United States where he addressed audiences of Negroes, one in Baltimore (thanks to the kindness of Carl Murphy, of whom he speaks highly), impressed me greatly with his devotion to his work and his understanding of the position of the Negro in Britain.

The most difficult persons to place in jobs, he said, were the unskilled, especially certain ones from parts of Africa where they had little contact with English culture and knew little of the language.

* * *

SUCH PERSONS, HE said, were inclined to blame their failure on color prejudice. In fact, I questioned several of the latter and they said the English were very prejudiced. Some from Jamaica complained bitterly of this but when I asked them if they wanted to go home they said no.

In England, you see, they get a dole of fifty shillings ($7) a week which is good pay in the colonies.

Life is tough in England for white and black alike. Wages are low and the cost of living is high. Some Negroes undoubtedly confound this toughness with prejudice. Those Negroes with good jobs—I met several—like it well though, like the whites, they complain, especially of taxes.

ROGERS SAYS: If You Didn't Know This— Negroes Also Had Slaves In America . . . and White Ones

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

A recent survey gave 28 per cent of Negro students as saying they thought their "race" inferior. If older Negroes had been asked and spoken truthfully, I'm sure the percentage would have been about 82. I'll give my reason later.

It was significant that the white students had a higher opinion of the Negroes than the latter had of themselves. And is not the belief of these white students the sub conscious one of many of their elders even when saying Negroes are inferior? Do we set up barriers against competitors we do not fear?

Mr. Rogers

Virginia passed its first law against Negroes in 1670. And what was the law? That Negroes should not buy white people (the law forbade Jews, also). The Negroes who had arrived fifty-one years before with only their rags, had some of them become landowners and importers of white slaves, that is, had advanced far ahead of many whites. The law evidently didn't work though because in 1748 another similar one was passed.

* * *

AS FOR MARYLAND, South Carolina and Louisiana, Negro masters bought whites, too. In 1808, the Louisiana Legislature, mentioned "the frequency" with which Negroes were buying whites and forbade it. Jim-crow laws are really a tribute to the Negro's ability to rise.

Fear of the Negro is also shown in the way his contribution to the growth of America is played down. If there is today a single book that does full justice to the Negro's contribution, either by a white or a colored author, I do not know of it. Such a book would have a small sale and the publishers who accept books on a royalty basis (they happen to be all white) must consider sales.

Negroes who want their books accepted must play "safe." Hope of acceptance keeps them in spiritual and intellectual servitude.

* * *

BELIEF HAS GROWN in the minds of the whites that the Negro is a rival. It is only the most humane, most civilized ones who do not see him as such. That is truest in the South where Negroes are most numerous.

The rivalry, of course, is economic but it has a sexual angle that often overshadows the economic. Today, as in the days of slavery, many white males want the Negro woman kept at a stage where she can be victimized. After the Emancipation, especially during Reconstruction, Negro girls began to get "ideas" and demanded marriage. Of course, keeping Negro men down will also make them look less desirable to ambitious Negro girls.

The latter is also true as regards white women, who, in large numbers, find Negro men attractive. From the days of ancient Greece to the present in all lands you'll find an instinctive sexual attraction of a vast number of whites of both sexes to Negroes.

* * *

I HAVE ELSEWHERE quoted some of the most noted white psychologists on this as Shakespeare, Iwan Bloch, Havelock Ellis, Ian McCrone, O. B. Hill, and Freyre. I have also given what is probably the reason. One fact cannot be disputed: soon after the Negroes arrived in the American colonies the whites began mating with them. In slave days rich whites of both sexes in their divorce suits named Negro male and female slaves as co-respondents.

In short, both for economic and sexual reasons the whites set up the color of their epidermis as a standard, a condition that did not exist before the discovery of the New World. Nowhere in prior white history does one find a doctrine of inferiority based on color of skin.

In such European countries as Rome, Spain, Italy, France, Turkey, there were great numbers of Negroes—and even England. I have abundant proof to back up that. Whites who were of Negro ancestry not only made no effort to conceal it but sometimes boasted of it. Many of the most noted families still have Negroes in their coats-of-arms.

* * *

COMPARE THIS WITH the attitude of the United States and of every other land in the New World. And that goes, too, for most of the mixed-bloods. But color prejudice is not natural to man and some day we of the two Americas will be as civilized in this respect as the European.

I said at the start that about 82 per cent of Negroes think themselves inferior. My reason? The very small number that are actively engaged in seeing that they get what is theirs by right as American citizens. Perhaps there are not more than 10 per cent of these.

Only inferior people put up with inferior treatment.

ROGERS SAYS:

'I Would Have Given Him Full Benefit of All Six With Holy Joy'

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

I HAVE found again and again that if one will take pains to learn what is truly right and say it fearlessly no matter what multitude of voices, literate or illiterate, be raised in the opposite direction, time will vindicate him.

For instance, when Richard Wright's "Native Son" appeared I was one of the few to oppose it (See my column of Feb. 22, 1941). With the exception of William Pickens, George Schuyler, and one or two others, most of the Negro writers echoed the white critics and went overboard for it.

Mr. Rogers

The NAACP fell so hard it gave Mr. Wright its highest award, the 1940 Spingarn Medal. But I was not. I had gone over the whole field of anti-Negro literature and I felt that Mr. Wright in his zeal either to present the Negro's cause or to create a best-selling shocker (perhaps both) had in presenting us with Bigger Thomas outdone the worst of them.

* * *

IN MY COLUMN of that date I named some of the worse anti-Negro books, including Carroll's "The Negro: A Beast," and added, "'Native Son,' is but supporting documentation for these works. Bigger Thomas is Carroll's Beast.

"I am sure that if Mr. Wright knew anything of anti-Negro propaganda he would have thought twice. From all such defenders, white or black, Good Lord, deliver us."

I pointed out that Victor Hugo in "Les Miserables" started with a convict, Jean Valjean, then went on to arouse such sympathy for him by making him a Christ-like figure that the whole world was stirred. Wright did the opposite. I said, "If I were to come upon a scene like that in which Wright's hero is battering out the brains of a Negro girl on whom he had been pimping after he had strangled a white girl, and I had a six-shooter I would have given him full benefit of all six with holy joy."

* * *

IN VAIN DID I read the stirring plea made for Bigger at his trial for murder. I said that such creatures in real life "ought to be caught young and imprisoned in a psycopathic institution."

When the book appeared as a play on Broadway I said (May 2, 1941) that Mr. Wright gave us not a wronged Negro, but a neurotic monster, one hell-bent for murder and evil such as we find in all "races" and among rich and poor. History is full of such. Two of our time were Loeb and Leopold, sons of millionaires and university students.

I said, too, then, that Bigger was far more neurotic than he was wronged racially, the proof being that his mother and his brother who are with him and are suffering identical wrong, are so different. So are the vast majority of "Native Sons" whom Bigger was supposed to typify.

* * *

THE COMMUNIST LINE is to play up the worst in the race problem. Well, Wright overshot even that. It was a gifted young writer, running amuck, with certain whites giving him every encouragement and unthinking Negroes echoing them.

But here comes what I consider my vindication on "Native Son" and it comes from Mr. Wright, himself. Now an ex-Communist, he has made his confession in a graphic and very well written contribution to "The God That Failed," (Harper's, $3.50), where he with five white writers tell why they got out of the party.

On page 119, he relates how when his mother saw one of his magazines, "The Masses," on which was a horribly distorted picture representing a worker (and which he describes) she said, "That picture's enough to drive a body crazy." Well, that's precisely how I felt after reading "Native Son."

Again, on pp. 122-125, he tells of "Comrade Young," who had a say in the John Reed Club, Communist. Later, Young turns out to be an escaped lunatic. Wright says, "What kind of club did we run that a lunatic could step in and help run it. Were we all so mad we could not detect a madman when we saw one?" Well, I could make another point about "Native Son" right here, but I refrain. I have long felt that when Mr. Wright matured he'd be ashamed of that book and even that Spingarn Medal. Is this confession it?

* * *

WRIGHT GIVES THE impression that he was almost pushed into the Communist party. Frankly, I don't believe that. The impression I get is that "Native Son" was written after he got out out of the party. If that is so, why did the Communists defend his book so vigorously? If I judge by my own experiences, he wanted to be pushed.

I happened to be in Chicago when the party was formed in 1919 and several attempts then, and later, were made to get me in, but I refused even though I saw, and still see, that the Communists are doing a good job on the enemies of the Negroes and the darker races.

As I said once I'm not choosy about who attack my enemies and those of humanity; but, for heaven's sake don't rub it in on the already oppressed as Mr. Wright did in his mistaken zeal.

ROGERS SAYS:

Atlanta Journal, Pittsburgh Woman Take Shots at Him Despite His 'Fair Comment'

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

ONE diverting thing about doing a column is that no matter how fair you compliment yourself on being, you are likely to be shot at from both sides.

Recently I poked fun at Communists and professional Southerners for mixing sex with their propaganda on "race." I said that when the Italian Communists brought lynching into the Ingrid Bergman case I didn't see the connection, the more so as a great many who oppose lynching were against her.

Mr. Rogers

To this Alma Booker of Pittsburgh, Pa., writes, "I thought I was past being surprised by any failure of colored or white U. S. 'liberals' to comprehend the claims of women to human rights, but I was really taken by surprise when I read your column of today in The Courier."

* * *

"**I NEVER THOUGHT** you would deprecate women's rights in this way, but you certainly do in this case.

"I clearly saw the connection between Ingrid Bergman's situation and that of a person lynched figuratively or literally on account of race or color.

"Why is it that the Communists see so clearly (as I do) that women's rights are a desperate necessity to Negro's rights . . . Why, I ask, does the Communist creed, but not the Christian and democratic creed, stand for women's rights as well as Negro rights? . . . How can the Negro conscience dare to demand racial equality and at the same time hedge or frankly reject women's rights? I see the closest analogy in the bitter twin causes of Negroes and women . . ." (Sorry I cannot give all of Miss Booker's dynamic letter, but I think the above are its chief points.)

* * *

THE SECOND ATTACK comes from the Atlanta Journal and includes shots at Columnists Bibb and Cayton as well as a wide swipe at The Courier, itself.

I ridiculed Senator Holland (not Senator Pepper as the Journal says) for dragging in sex when he appeared to be getting the worst of a debate on civil rights with Senator Humphrey, and I added that in this battle of propaganda on "race" the Communists have what is more effective than money, namely, the hatred white oppression has bred in the dark-skinned people of Africa and Asia.

Now long before communism became the issue it now is, we had been hearing of "a war of the races" from both racialists and humanists. Lothrop Stoddard, racialist, predicted it in his "Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy" and Sir Harry Johnstone, great humanist, and several others like him, told of its threat unless the whites mended their ways.

* * *

TWO VERY NOTABLE expressions were made by Achmed Abdullah of Afghanistan and W. E. B. DuBois. The first in a blazing article in Form (Vol. 52, pp. 484-97. 1914) tells how Asia yearns for revenge and predicts an invasion of Europe "by a new Attila and a new Tamerlane" which will make that of those conquerors look like child's play.

Dr. DuBois in "Darkwater" (p. 49. 1920) is equally strong.

None of those who predicted a "race" war ever linked it up with communism. But what's happening now? The Communists have stepped in, are capitalizing on racial injustices, and instead of a war between white and colored it now looks like one between Communists and anti-Communists. The former are winning in Asia and are making notable gains in Africa.

* * *

THE ONLY COMMUNISTS in the South African Parliament are those put there by the blacks who are permitted to be represented only by whites.

I said that the Communists have what is more effective than money. I could have added than Senator Holland's miscegenation bugaboo, also. The Communists have the crusading spirit. They have the strongest kind of conviction they're called to cure the social injustices of mankind.

* * *

THE VAST MAJORITY work with no hope of financial gain and even welcome martyrdom. And their propaganda line is much more pointed.

I just heard a good one over the radio. Children are told to pray to God for candy. None comes. They're told to pray to Stalin. The candy comes.

I, therefore, suggest that the Atlanta Journal and all who oppose civil rights take heed of the predictions mentioned above and thus realize what they are doing to give the communism they so much hate more power.

I hope they'll see the light because America is my home and I don't want to see any kind of despotism, either of the right or left, dominate here.

ROGERS SAYS: Europe's White Imperialists Have Long Used the White Woman as a Colonial 'Lure'

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

TO CONTINUE what I was saying of the Khama case. White imperialism in South Africa is following the pattern set with colonization of the New World 400 years ago.

It is this: White men go into dark men's lands nearly always without white women. They mate with the dark women, produce a "mixed breed" and set up a caste superior to the natives. Decades later, the colony is now fit for white women to live in; they are brought out, and then we have another caste, the "pure" whites.

Mr. Rogers

This three-caste system prevailed from Canada to Argentina. In the British West Indies and Haiti the mulatto caste was as high above the blacks as the whites were above the mulattoes.

* * *

THE VERY LIGHTEST mixed-bloods were permitted marriage with the whites. For instance, the older the Australian or South African family the surer it is to have had a black ancestress.

Much the same is true of the South, especially Louisiana.

Now let's get this and get it straight: The white man in Europe from the days of Greece and Rome has had little or no objection to the union of Negroes and white women.

As the result of extensive research I'm most positive of that.

* * *

SUCH MARRIAGES ARE the usual course in England for centuries. For instance, in 1787 when the British Government was returnnig 351 Negroes captured on slave-ships to Africa, on the night before sailing, the authorities married sixty-two white women to Negroes the women had never seen before and shipped them off with them.

It is to be presumed that the other 289 Negroes had white wives, also. Why was this done? Because there was a shortage of women in Africa? Not at all. There has always been a surplus there. The reason? England wanted to get rid of those women. She could no longer ship their kind to the United States. And second, it gave the whites a footing in the colony to which the Negroes were sent—Sierra Leone.

Again, white missionaries sometimes married white women to African kings in order to spread Christianity. (It's not the Communists alone who have used white women as a "lure.") Also, Chaka (1786-1836), greatest of the South African kings, had two white wives in his harem. Did the whites object then? No, the blacks were then on top and they thought that would make the blacks friendlier. Why now the objection to Khama's wife? Because a "pure" white caste has been established and the marriage of Negroes and white women is the surest thing to smash it.

* * *

ON THE OTHER hand, in South Africa, as in our South, there has ever been little or no objection to the production of mulattoes through black women. That simply meant more victims to exploit.

The Dutch of South Africa, the party now in power and the most vicious exploiters of black people in history, came there originally to seize the land and rob the natives.

The motive is the same now. Khama's kingdom is rich. It adjoins Southwest Africa which the Malan Government has abritrarily seized. Malan has a vision of establishing a rich and mighty empire from the borders of the Belgian Congo to Cape Town.

—Socialist, if you please—is playing ball with these ruthless, red-handed, scripture-quoting thieves and has given several reasons why Khama should be kept out, one of which is that the marriage has disrupted tribal life.

It prefers Tshedeki, the same Tshedeki the British once exiled because he publicly flogged a white man who was debauching the Bamangwato girls.

Tshedeki stands for segregation—he wants to isolate his people, keep them out of the political and economic life of the country, and probably though well-meaning is playing Malan's game.

* * *

THE CHARGE OF tribal disruption is strikingly disproved by an article and splendid spread of pictures in Life magazine, March 6. The natives welcome "the white queen."

She and her Oxford-educated husband are treating them kindly, something they don't often get even from their rulers. Khama, like Haile Selassie, represents the newer, enlightened type of African ruler.

That's why Malan doesn't want him there.

ROGERS SAYS: Frederick Douglass Once Said of Abraham Lincoln, "He Is Not Our Man"

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

TO CONTINUE from last week: The two most outstanding events in the growth and present state of the American Republic are its founding and the preservation of its unity.

George Washington was leader in the first; Abraham Lincoln was the guiding genius of the second.

Mr. Rogers

As such Lincoln is undoubtedly more qualified than any other, including living historians, to say what was the factor that made it possible for this nation to be what it is now. I shall, therefore, give Lincoln's own words on this. They come from his letters and speeches, compiled by Nicolay and Hay, of which there are several editions.

On March 26, 1863, he said, "The colored population is the great available and yet unavailed of force for saving the Union. The bare sight of fifty thousand armed and drilled black soldiers upon the banks of the Mississippi would end the rebellion at once."

On Aug. 26, 1863: "The use of colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt the rebellion and that at least one of the important successes could not have been achieved but for the aid of black soldiers."

* * *

HE LATER ELABORATED this but I pass on.

Aug. 17, 1864: "Drive back to the support of the rebellion the physical force which the colored people now give us and neither the present nor any coming administration can save the Union."

"Take from us and give to it the enemy the 150,000 colored persons now serving us as soldiers, seamen and laborers and we cannot longer maintain the contest." That is, he says here, the Negroes provided the balance of power; that whichever party he sided with would win.

Sept. 12, 1864, he declared as regards Negro aid to the Union, "This is not a question of sentiment or taste but one of physical force which he measured or estimated as horse-power or steam-power are measured and estimated. Keep it and you can save the Union. Throw it away and the Union goes with it."

* * *

PERHAPS NEARLY TWO million Negroes aided Lincoln, of which 178,975 were in the armed forces.

Now Lincoln's words are all the more significant because while he was anti-slavery, he was not pro-Negro and often said so.

In fact, as one who has read and collected all I could get on what he said and did about Negroes I'm convinced that though he was kind to individual Negroes, as certain Negrophobes are, he was at heart anti-Negro. As Frederick Douglass once said, "He is not our man."

* * *

I COULD GIVE many instances and have space but for one. In January, 1862, when Salmon P. Chase sent Edward L. Pierce to urge him to use Negro troops he said impatiently, according to Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, "What's all this itching to get niggers into our lines." (Hart's Salmon P. Chase, p. 259, 1899 Hosmer, American Nation, Vol. 20, pp. 207-08, 1907.) Northerners didn't want Negroes as companions-in-arms. (Still there's a lot I admire in Lincoln.)

Well, in spite of the prejudice against them, Negroes virtually saved the Union. But try to find that in any of our histories. I came across it first when collecting Lincolnia on Negroes. Of course, it could have appeared and I didn't see it.

Now here's a word to those who are still grieving that Lee lost. Suppose the Negro had stayed aloof and let the South break away and become a separate nation, would the South be better off than it now is?

It was agricultural and much poorer and less advanced than the manufacturing North which included the rich West.

* * *

THE SOUTH TODAY would be a small nation probably hardly further ahead than Mexico. It is largely Northern capital that has made it what it is.

As for Federal grants it gets more than it contributes. Southerners who still moan about the Confederacy ought to decide once for all whether it was good or bad for them that Lincoln with the aid of Negroes saved the Union and made it possible for them to be citizens of this great republic.

Yes, they (and many of the North) ought to choose once for all between Uncle Sam and jim crow. If they choose Uncle Sam then out of common decency they ought to cut out jim crow.

* * *

WE HAVE BEEN having a spectacle of crassest ingratitude.

Great Negrophobes of the South as Tillman, Bilbo, Rankin are able to go to Congress and spout their venom against Negroes when but for them said Negrophobes would'nt be there, not being citizens of the United States.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Booker T. Washington Banks Are Worthy Gifts

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

THE ENERGETIC and resourceful S. J. Phillips, president of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial at Booker Washington Birthplace, Va., can always be depended upon to produce a new plan for making the American public more conscious of the great contributions of the founder of Tuskegee Institute.

This time Mr. Phillips has come up with a toy bank which is the exact replica of the log cabin in which Booker T. Washington was born on the plantation 20-odd miles outside Roanoke, Va. The toy bank, designed to promote the idea of thrift, sells for $1.89, and along with it goes, I am told, "a copy of **Gems of Wisdom, In God We Trust** and a 1950 San Francisco coin which is valued at $2.00."

Mr. Schuyler

It is quite a bright idea to offer as a tangible symbol of thrift, one of the Booker T. Washington half-dollars. Anybody with a knowledge of high-level promotion can see the possibilities.

* * *

THERE HAVE BEEN fifty other memorial coins cast, and together they brought in $6,000,000. The Booker T. Washington is the fifty-first memorial coin and it alone has brought in $1,200,000.

This memorial coin was designed by a Negro artist, in competition with some of the finest artists in the country, and tells the dramatic story of the penniless and ignorant youth who became one of the best-known Americans of his day and widely influenced world thinking on educational goals.

The fact that his bust is now in the Hall of Fame at New York University attests to America's opinion of him. He was quite likely the first American of color to win worldwide fame.

* * *

HIS IDEA WAS the simple one that in the world's most highly technical civilization, youth should be trained to maintain and improve that civilization which has brought more of the good things of life to more people than any other society in history.

Some people chose to construe this doctrine as decrying mere book learning (as if one could become proficient in any technical field without consulting books).

My personal view is that we have been grinding out of our colleges for far too many years scores of thousands of graduates with a smattering of literature, so-called history, languages (in which they were unable to hold a conversation), the pseudo-science of psychology and similar claptrap which confused far more than it educated.

* * *

IT HAS BEEN largely reactionary because it "trained" youth for roles in life for which there was little market and would be less in the future. In our technological world there was a gerat need for the technically trained, but not much for the others.

So we had the incongruity of B. A.'s and M. A.'s waiting table and hopping bells. Although the laundry business (on a primitive scale) sent many of them through the colleges, not one of them contributed any advanced idea or technique to the laundry business, one of the nation's big industries.

The same might be said of other fields of endeavor. They were educationally all dressed up with nowhere to go. It is at least as important to know about plumbing as about Plato.

* * *

ONE OF THE things Booker T. Washington stressed all of the time was thrift. Without it little can be accomplished in the world as it is. There are thrifty Negroes, of course, but there are not nearly enough.

Perhaps if more of our youths were taught from infancy the necessity of saving something each day, the habit would stick through adulthood. This little toy bank as a birthday or Christmas gift might start a child on the right path.

The Booker T. Washington Memorial half-dollar as a pocket piece would constantly remind him of the need for saving instead of squandering, and at the same time keep in his mind what a man born in the most unfavorable circumstances can accomplish in America.

Right now parents are thinking hard what to give their children for Christmas. Well, this bank is one present that should prove useful and instructive.

The WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

Brussels, Belgium, is the last place you'd expect to find a magazine devoted to Negro events and opinions, edited by a Negro. And yet there is **L'Afrique Et Le Monde,** headed by the genial, cultured Dahomean, Paul Fabo. Well printed and illustrated, and running to sixteen pages tabloid size, it yields nothing to our Nation or New Republic IN ADVERSE and thought-provoking subject matter. M. Fabo, an intellectual with plays and books to his credit, boasts a circulation of 16,000.

* * *

BELGIUM'S Negroes number much less than 1,000, with 150 in Brussels, which indicates that numerous Belgian whites are interested in the Negro world. Nine out of ten Africans are from the Belgian Congo. These Negroes are mostly farm workers, office boys and industrial workers, but there is one lawyer. These Negroes are married to or living with Belgian women. Some have been in Belgium since World I and ALL want to return to their homes—if they can ever get the money. I met several at l' Union Coloniale's fine building. They are not happy with their lot.

* * *

London's fog had lifted during the week, so it was quite bright (for that capital in winter) when the small Sabena plane landed. Another long chat with George Padmore at the swank Park Lane Hotel, then to the Mandrake Club, a Greenwich Village-like place in a Soho basement where blacks and whites rub shoulders in easy camaraderie. Many attractive British and Danish workgirls relieve the stodginess.

* * *

NEXT MORNING famed Seretse Khama and his auburn-haired Ruth with "face made out of a rose" drove up to the hotel in their smart five-passenger gray car (with their pretty 6-months girl baby in the rear seat) and off to the recording studio. Ruth Khama is much prettier than her pictures, a good, clean girl with beauty, brains, loyalty and devotion. Listeners to Courier radio programs across the U. S. will soon hear their voices in an historic interview, along with that of George Padmore, noted author.

* * *

Amsterdam, Holland, like Rio, lives up to the tourist advertising. Its myriad lights reflected on the shimmering surfaces of its ever-present canals criss-crossing the city is an unforgettable sight. Here are Negroes too, mostly from Surinam—seamen, musicians, dockers, businessmen, teachers, students, nurses. About 3,000 in Holland; 1,000 in Amsterdam. Many men and women are married to whites, doing well in this land of no color discrimination. One Negro heads a public school wherein all teachers and pupils are white! As Fats Waller remarked "One never knows, do one?"

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Diving Off Red Bandwagon Is Latest Trend

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

BY FAR the most intriguing divertissement of the year now drawing to its close has been the spectacle of hordes of erstwhile fellow-travelers and Communist stooges diving off the Red bandwagon and stridently proclaiming their patriotism. It was funnier at first, but now it is getting to be a little dull and somewhat annoying with repetition.

Mr. Schuyler

The "explanations" these people give for having lent their time and talents to Communist fronts that they knew very well were Communist fronts are an insult to the intelligence of the American people.

What sound excuse can these people give for having remained on the Red bandwagon so long, especially since most of them are graduates of high school or college and are presumed to be literate and reasonably intelligent?

ANYBODY ABOVE THE intelligence of a Klansman or an infant gorilla can detect a Communist or a Red stooge a mile off. There is the same boresome chatter of cliches which have been bandied about in "revolutionary" circles since the days of those two frauds, Marx and Engels.

There is the same dull and monotonous succession of resolutions and viewings-with-alarm. There is the same one-sided approach to all problems of the day, with the class struggle injected into everything from baking biscuits to surfboard riding.

It has become fashionable for those who believe they are on the spot to now rush with their recantations to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Their tale is the familiar one that they didn't know what they were doing. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred this is a lie.

* * *

NO SOONER HAD Red Channels hit the street than a well-known entertainer inveigled some naive anti-Communist into getting him before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and actually writing his confession for him.

He wanted me to write it, but there was not a chance. I knew this fellow for the opportunist he is. During the war (after Hitler attacked Russia, of course) he was devoting half his time to entertaining for the swarm of Red fronts that infested the country like cockroaches in a Bowery kitchen.

This was during the time when Communist Negro leaders like Ben Davis and Doxey Wilkerson later admitted that they had an uneasy alliance with the Southern white bourgeoisie and refused to protest jim crowism in the armed forces or the jimcrow blood bank.

* * *

IT WOULD BE difficult to find an instance of this fellow entertaining for the Urban League or the NAACP.

This fellow was once about to be fired from a New York night club whose owner was a Communist party member and brother of a known Stalinist agent. Who saved his job for him?

None other than another and more famous Negro singer-Communist, who barged into the place and shaking his finger under the owner's nose ruled, "——— ——— stays! Do you understand?" Shaking with fear the white cabaret owner hastily agreed.

* * *

IT HAPPENS THAT I have kept many of the announcements and programs of those days, and the names of some Negroes appear on all of them. Especially does one note the name of a famous colored lady artist who recently rushed to deny that she ever touched the gun, and that if so she didn't know it was loaded.

She entertained for many Red fronts, but I cannot recall her volunteering to do so for any legitimate Negro organization. At one time she also was employed by the same cabaret owner who leaped when a big, black Communist spoke.

There are many others of these opportunists who have become soil-kissing patriots over night. They are typical of the swarm of fellow-travelers who still infest the theatre, the movies, the press and radio. After smearing and blacklisting pro-Americans for years they now yammer because history has caught up with them, and complain that they are being smeared and blacklisted. Well, it's about time, too.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

American Voters Have Shown Themselves Awakening

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

THE AMERICAN electorate has proved once again that is it not as dumb as many people, particularly several political labor leaders, believed. The astonishing results in Ohio are evident of that. The political labor leaders believed that because they have tremendous economic power over their members and can keep them from working more effectively than any boss ever could, it would be a simple matter to "deliver" the votes of these workers to the Democratic machine.

Mr. Schuyler

After all, there are 1,250,000 organized workers in Ohio, and if that vote could have been thrown to Jumping Joe Ferguson, Senator Taft would have been defeated. So the CIO-AFL bosses threw a slush fund of over $1,000,000 into Ohio and set up a political machine reaching into every shop and worker's home for that purpose.

The result was that Ferguson carried but four Ohio counties and Taft was elected by an overwhelming majority of nearly a half million votes.

THE LABOR LEADERS could and do control the workers' jobs, but could not control their minds, and this is a good thing for the workers and for the nation, too. Otherwise America would have been greatly speeded down the road to totalitarianism i.e., slavery.

The defeat of Senator Millard Tydings was a victory for Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, who spearheaded the fight against an internal menace. McCarthy was for months the target of fellow-travelers, Communists and internationalists all over the country who called him everything but a child of God; but the American people believed him.

As a result the Communist appeasers and apologists bit the dust all over the map, as they richly deserved. McCarthy himself was not running for re-election but he campaigned effectively for his associate who won.

* * *

CALIFORNIA VOTERS demonstrated that they knew the score by electing Richard Nixon to the Senate. It was Nixon who proved to be the nemesis of Alger Hiss, and prior to that took a most active part in the patriotic activities of the valuable Committee on Un-American Activities.

The defeat of Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois was an indication that the voters of that pivotal state, like those elsewhere, were fed up with the phony Fair Deal with its drive toward socialization of American life.

The New York voters deserve credit for routing the Tammy-New Deal-Fair Deal corruptionists. Dewey's fighting campaign was magnificent, and the one regret is that he did not take the advice several of us gave him in 1948 to wage a similar campaign.

* * *

THIS PUTS AN end of the civil rights hokum for at least another two years, and that is a very good thing indeed. Negro voters have had their minds benumbed and their vision obscured by this shower of platitudes and cliches for some years now and they need a respite from it.

This whole program has never been anything more than a vote-trapping device operated by cynical political operators and their "liberal" dupes.

The whole program was and is unconstitutional and if enacted would undermine the structure of the only powerful modern state capable of opposing the new slavery of centralized totalitarianism. Many Americans realized this to the sorrow of the New Deal Democrats.

* * *

IF THE NAACP and other FEPC advocates have learned anything, they will now concentrate on campaigning within the individual states for enactment of the program, stop wasting time and money butting their heads against the stone wall of Congressional opposition, and quit making a nuisance of themselves by fighting to undermine the traditional structure of the American confederation based on local sovereignty.

Fortunately we now have a conservative Congress at a time when there is much we need to conserve.

The WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

Christmas card extraordinary is being offered by the Booker Washington Memorial Foundation, Booker Washington Birthplace, Va. It is a unique and timely card with a stirring message from Booker T. along with one of the coveted Booker Washington Memorial half dollars which 1,200,000 Americans have already bought. Card only costs $1.

* * *

WILLIE McGEE, Mississippi "martyr," three times saved from the electric chair, got a new delay last week when he filed another appeal in the Supreme Court of the USA. Let's hope he wins.

* * *

Attorney General McGrath has filed formal charges that the U. S. Communist party is dominated and controlled by the government and Communist party of Soviet Russia. Just a while back President Truman called the whole thing a "red herring." Herrings must grow pretty big these days!

* * *

DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE may not take that Harvard professorship after all. He is far more valuable in his present post of senior director of the United Nations Trusteeship Department, what with African problems looming so large these days.

* * *

National Education Association distinguished itself by election of Dr. John W. Davis, president of West Virginia State College, as chairman of the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education. He heads a distinguished group of white U. S. educators. Fine!

* * *

PRAISE is due Lincoln University (Pa.) for establishing America's first Institute for the Study of African Affairs. More light and less heat is needed on African questions, and Dr. Horace Mann Bond will see to that.

* * *

The American Red Cross moved last week to finally stop the practice of labeling "Negro" and "white" blood given by donors. That is certainly an admirable if belated decision. Better late than never.

* * *

THE BALKAN COMMUNIST press is now attacking Joe Louis as making "propaganda in favor of war." Seems that Joe committed the "crime" of praising the "splendid liberty" to be found in the USA. Having soared from plantation "serf" to millionaire under American "imperialism," Joe's enthusiasm for the American way is understandable.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Negro Couple in Paris Does U. S. a Disservice

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

LAST July in Paris, France, a Martinique colored man who has lived in that metropolis for a quarter century, invited me to luncheon at his apartment a few blocks behind the Sorbonne.

A couple of other colored men dropped by afterward and we had a spirited conversation about the Negroes in various parts of the world, including the United States.

Mr. Schuyler

One of these men was a young colored medical student from the States who had been living in France for three or four years. Consequently he was unware of the changes in interracial relations that have taken place here since the end of the war.

* * *

SINCE HE WAS born and reared in the North and had visited only two or three states there, he was almost as ignorant of how Negroes live and work as the Frenchmen with whom he associated. But despite his ignorance he was quite dogmatic about the "horrors" of Negro life in the U. S. A. and extremely bitter and scathing in his comment about his native land.

It did not take me long to discern that he was either a fellow traveler or Communist. Paris is swarming with both, and there is nothing too false and evil for them to say about the land that saved them from the Nazis by prodigal expenditure of blood and brawn.

This youth was fanatical in his hatred of this country, although he was studying in France on a U. S. scholarship.

* * *

LAST WEEK A friend prominent in music circles in New York who recently returned from France, told me about an American Negro couple there from which a great deal of anti-American propaganda emanates on the Negro question.

These people are obsessed with it and work overtime to indoctrinate all who come in contact with them with hatred and scorn of this country. Like the young American Negro mentioned above, they make the most fantastic charges, and, unfortunately, they have considerable influence among intellectuals and artists.

The wife, when in New York, was as deep in the Communist movement as William Z. Foster, and indeed was the "friend" of a Red leader until he jilted her for a younger woman with characteristic Communist callousness.

* * *

THE HUSBAND IS younger than this Red mouthpiece in Paris, but is no less a Communist. Interestingly enough, he is also studying on a scholarship from the old bad United States.

Wherever they move in their circle they spread the most fantastic fictions about American "lynch terror" and "oppression." My friend who heard them rant, and who is quite familiar with contemporary America, was aghast at this tirade of lies which were extraordinary even for Communists. He simply told his French friends that the Negro couple was talking about an America unknown to him.

* * *

THERE ARE SEVERAL of these American Negro "intellectuals" in Paris propagandizing for the USSR against the USA, especially in artistic circles—writers, painters and musicians.

It was with some sardonic amusement that I noted that all of these people were in some way getting their living from the United States while befouling it at every opportunity, and they all had thoughtfully refrained from giving up their U. S. citizenship and becoming citizens of France which they acclaim as being so much superior to the United States.

It seems to me that if I thought so ill of my country, I would sever all connections with it. And yet I note that in Europe the West Indies and South America, all of these persistently loud-mouthed propagandists retain their U. S. citizenship!

* * *

NOT ONLY DO they not know much about the Negro or anything else in the United States but they do not want to know because that might make it more difficult to lie.

They get angry when one points out, as I did, that colored Algerians are treated far worse in Paris than U. S. Negroes are in New York; that whereas the North Africans have to resort to black marketing to exist, the U. S. Negroes have full and well-paid employment.

Somehow or other I found something very sad about these spleen-filled expatriates whose Red masters did not even pay them for following the Communist line.

The WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

London: Paul Robeson may fool U. S. Negroes that he is a "race man," but Liverpool Africans picketed his meeting there a year ago because he ducked meeting with the Emergency Defense Committee for Coloured People, but chose to meet with "European bodies notorious among our people for their anti-African sentiments and activities. This is adding insult to injury and is a matter which the Pan-African Federation cannot overlook." So says the correspondence which lies before me covering February and March, 1949. What a phony!

HAARLEM (Holland, that is): What a contrast between this and Harlem, New York City! Flat as a pancake, crisscrossed and surrounded by canals, dikes and drainage ditches, with occasional windmills on the horizon, it is faintly reminiscent of a Connecticut coastal town. White homes with green trim and shutters; brown brick houses with white trim, curving streets, clean and spotless. Neat and prosperous are these Dutch, and very amiable, too, though understandably curious about a black face in their fair, blonde midst.

* * *

The Hague: Seat of Dutch empire (now Commonwealth). Swirling snow over cozy, neat, white-blanketed city. Warm, commodious, brilliantly lighted hotels, restaurants, stores, government offices. Friendly, accommodating Dutch. First functionary encountered in big, stone government building is definitely Negro in resplendent uniform. Here are Negro, Indonesian, Chinese, Malay officials representing polyglot nature of Commonwealth population. Everybody friendly, cooperative, supplying information facts and statistics. One departs regretfully.

* * *

Keflavik, Iceland: This treeless, Arctic island, Kentucky-size, with less people than Paterson, N. J., can thank the Golf Stream for its equable climate. Here are volcanoes, hot springs and glaciers, big sheep flocks and a big fishing industry. Here also are huge airfields with U. S. technicians, pilots and mechanics. Vast fleet of jet planes recently cleared for parts unmentioned, indicating that U. S. is definitely ready for combat. Americans are amiable. Icelanders prosperous, personable, friendly; freely spending the Yankee dollar. Sex freedom indicated by world's greatest illegitimacy rate.

* * *

OLSO, Norway: Biggest surprise is the presence of over 300 Negroes in this picturesque, snow-mantled, ski-ridden country where pink cheeks, golden hair and colorful winter clothing are ubiquitous. There are a few Negroes in every port from Oslo to Hammerfest, much mixed racially and speaking Norse with a smattering of English, they are a tiny segment of a population about equal to Iowa's. In Oslo three or four U. S. Negroes scoring [illegible] are, as from jim crow as Norway [illegible] North Carolina; accepted for what they are.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

One-Sided NAACP Must Become Constructive

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

IT HAS long been suspected by the knowing that one of the reasons for the sad decline of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been its blatant bias in favor of the Roosevelt-Truman political machine and its drive toward totalitarianism. The association has pretended to be nonpartisan, as it is supposed to be, but in practice it has backed (largely at the behest of its New York left-wing sponsors) and has urged its members to support, are measures which if adopted would open the flood gates of collectivism: i.e., slavery.

Mr. Schuyler

THERE IS SCARCELY a control asked by the Roosevelt-Truman machine which it has not endorsed. There is scarcely a prominent Republican at whom it has not carped while swallowing doublecross after doublecross by the Democrats. It slavishly followed Roosevelt and played patty-cake with his political cabal with an eye to its deserving friends getting jobs. It only grudgingly found anything commendable in America simply because the interracial millenium had not arrived.

Its policy has been largely one of ankle-biting, and the Negroes have grown tired of this campaign of negativism. They have moved forward; the association, by and large, has not. Its propaganda is geared to 1930 rather than 1950. This is sad but true. It has yet to learn that a mass organization cannot live merely by the merchanting of grief and constant calls for warfare. Most people prefer peace and progress, at least for a while.

* * *

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THIS unfortunate fixation is the article by Henry Lee Moon in the December **Crisis** on "The Amazing **Mr. Taft.**" Brother Moon, who used to be the sable wheelhorse of Jack Kroll who heads the CIO's Political Action Committee (a cabal of labor leaders using unionists' dollars to further collectivist measures through Tammany-like methods) seems to have forgotten what payroll he is on.

He smears, insinuates, ankle-bites and threshes about in a manner reminiscent of the days when CIO-PAC was controlled by Communists under the sinister rule of Sidney Hillman. He is so furious that Taft won a smashing victory in Ohio (with hundreds of thousands of rank-and-file labor votes!) that he cannot contain himself, and so makes himself ridiculous.

* * *

TO ORACLE MOON the Ohio Senator is a "s.o.b." because, like every other prominent politician (including Roosevelt and Truman), he was originally sponsored by a political machine (not CIO-PAC, of course!) which Moon characterizes as corrupt—as if there were any other kind. He excoriates Taft because he plays the political game of making deals, without which no politician can operate effectively. He tries vainly, by twistings reminiscent of the **Daily Worker,** to brand Taft as anti-Negro and anti-Semitic because he opposed the frame-up of the so-called Fascists in America's first, Roosevelt-engineered political trial. He froths because Taft opposed Roosevelt's machinations which inevitably led to World War II, over 1,000,000 U. S. casualties and $300 billion debt.

Actually this is the most laudable part of Taft's career. Anybody who was not for keeping the U. S. out of World War II was either an ignoramus or a rogue.

Moon is hot because Taft wanted to defend Formosa against the Chinese Communist cabal, forgetting that this is currently Truman's policy. The NAACP publicity man is also wroth because Taft backed Senator McCarthy's eminently justifiable campaign against the Communist and fellow traveler lice in the State Department. (He could have included all other departments as well, and not been far wrong.)

Finally and understandably Mr. Moon is frantic because Taft was against a punitive FEPC and sponsored the much-needed Taft-Hartley Act (which Truman several times invoked). Any student of our governmental structure who is honest must admit that Federal FEPC would be a tool which New Deal politicians could use to destroy the American system.

As for the Taft-Hartley Act, it naturally incensed the entrenched labor leaders loath to have their grip on millions of job-holders shaken loose; but it is actually a boon to the working man. Moreover, Congress passed it over Truman's veto. Why not attack these other Senators and Representatives?

* * *

NEGROES NEED AN organization like the NAACP (less querelous and more constructive) and certainly should support it; but they are going to have decreasing confidence in it so long as it remains an instrument of partisan, totalitarian politics, and will understandably refrain from backing it as it needs to be backed. Thomas Jefferson said the country should have a revolution every twenty years. Such an upheaval is long past due in the NAACP.

Negro Progress And Achievement

(By George S. Schuyler)

(iii)

A commentary on the American system and what the Negroes think of it is the fact that they have borne arms in every war in which the nation has been engaged. There were nearly 4,000 Negroes serving in the War for Independence and in World War II over 1,150,000 enrolled. One-fourth of a million served in the Civil War and 500,000 in World War I.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND SPEECH

Contrary to the propaganda from totalitarian slave states, American Negroes not only move freely, worship freely, and work freely but they also speak freely. For example, where there is only one Jewish newspaper in Russia and that one controlled by the government, the Negro minority in the U.S.A. operates over 200 newspapers and has boasted a press since 1827.

The majority of these newspapers are published in the "terror-stricken" South. They are individually owned; they have a combined weekly circulation of 3,000,000 copies and the value of their printing plants runs into the millions of dollars. It is largely through these newspapers and the organizations which they support and publicize that the Negro population has been welded into a militant force against reactionary racism.

Not a single Negro newspaper has been suppressed, North or South, although they have been unsparring in their criticism of the Jim Crow system. Obviously such a press could only exist in an atmosphere of freedom.

Similarly, the Negro church whose 40,000 structures serve as meeting places for the colored people could not have carried on or grown except in a tolerant environment. Serving nearly one-half of the Negro population, the total value of these church properties is around £80 million. It spends well over £10 million annually.

There are few instances in modern times of Negroes having been prevented from asserting their spiritual rights even in the most backward rural areas. These churches have been in the forefront of all movements for the economic, political, and social benefit of their people.

All fair-minded Americans admit that the disenfranchisement of the Negroes in the South was a crime. For 10 years, the Negro minority in the Southern states, protected b ythe bayonets of the Union army, exercised full rights of citizenship including the ballot, but progressively from 1870 onward they were disenfranchised by various legal devices and by force until by 1900 they had almost completely lost the right to vote. It might be added, however

Mr. George Samuel Schuyler has been writing for the Pittsburgh Courier wellknown Negro national newspaper for the past 26 years. He was born in the State of Rhode Island 55 years ago. During war service he rose to the rank of First Lieutenant in the United States Army. Mr. Schuyler is a novelist, lecturer and contributor to many United States publications.

that Negroes have voted since the Civil War in the 33 States outside the South, and in some places they voted even before the Civil War. In many of these States today Negroes are an increasingly important factor in elections.

But the greatest developmen't which illustrate the ability of a free society to change is evidenced by the increasing number of Negro voters in the South in the last decade. In many Southern States, where 10 years ago a Negro did not dare to approach the polls, they are now voting in the scores of thousands, and soon will be voting in the hundreds of thousands.

This remarkable change has been brought about solely through legal action and instances in which force has been used to prevent the exercise of the right to vote have been rare. There is no single State in the South today where some Negroes are not voting, and less than one-half of these States require payment of poll tax as a qualification to exercise the right of suffrage.

VIOLENCE PROBLEM SOLVED

Of course, the greatest blots on the American record have been mob murder, usually called lynching and race riots. The record is most grim, and yet inexcusable though these crimes be, it is gratifying to point out that the problem has been practically solved. Whereas in 1900 there were 115 lynchings, in 1949 there were three; and this was more than in the two previous years. From 1934 to 1949 inclusive, the total number of mob murders was less than in the single year of 1900.

Along with this decrease in lynchings, there has been a marked increase in the alertness of police which prevented these crimes. There was a time when so-called officers of the law rarely interfered, but today it is quite different.

This gratifying evidence of increasing law and order in the United States simply indicates that the country which was still largely frontier 50 years ago and had only recently emerged from a long and sanguinary Civil War over the Negro is becoming more settled and tolerant.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Some Negro 'Leaders' May Be Bound for Concentration Camps!

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. -The Editors)

IF any intelligent person doubted that a swarm of organizations which flourished before, during and after World War II were Communist-inspired and -controlled, they have only to look for them today. Save for the Civil Rights Congress, the National Lawyers Guild and a handful of others, the volume of Red-front outfits has considerably thinned out since the halcyon days from 1941 (after June 22 when Hitler attacked his pal Stalin) until two or three years ago when the heat began to sear the hides of the dupes, innocents, fellow travelers and crypto-Communists who were active in these organizations.

Mr. Schuyler

One could scarcely turn around for these outfits. They were everywhere, and wherever they were their policies always happened to be those of the Soviet Union. What was alarming was the large number of supposedly educated Negroes who permitted themselves to be used by having their names on letterheads and appeals in behalf of some pro-Soviet program. From time to time I named these Negro fellow travelers and/or innocents who were, blindly or not, following the Communist line, and I was practically alone in doing so. Subsequent events have strongly emphasized what I wrote then.

* * *

WHAT WAS NEEDED was pitiless exposure not only of the schemers who actually ran this swarm of organizations (switching from one to the other as the purposes of each were served), but of the dupes who were helping them to live and function. I did my bit and thereby riled quite a few friends and acquaintances by naming names. I was not particularly concerned about what happened to them (because they should have known better), but what might happen to the masses of Negroes (who are no more Communist inclined than the masses of whites) who would get the reputation of being Red because their leaders were following the Moscow line. I foresaw that there would be a post-war witch hunt and was convinced that it was long overdue, and I wanted to keep the heat off Negroes if possible. The enlightened minority that understands these things knew in a general way all about Communist espionage and how it used idealists, dupes and psychotics to get information and to help undermine this society. Personally I have clocked the Red racket since 1918, so nothing that has happened has surprised me.

* * *

WELL, WHILE THE Red drive to capture the American Negro went on, especially in the latter days, it had a whole lot of cooperation from people who should have known better: i.e., clergymen, editors, social workers, uplift organization officials, women leaders, columnists, lawyers, postal workers and a grist of others. They sat on platforms, attended cocktail parties, carried on endless pro-Soviet chatter and gloried in the honor of "representing" the Negro.

There were various means of winning them over. First there was corruption by association with "liberal" whites. Then there was corruption by association with eminent white fellow travelers and Communists who owned palatial apartments, cozy summer homes and ample supplies of whisky. Not the least important was corruption by intimacy, with "party women" assigned to the role. Oh, the stories that could be told about that corruption! Previous loyalties and loves went by the board in the face of such competition. There was simply nothing commendable about the United States as compared to almost any place in the world, and there was a persistent and widespread campaign to make the Negro sorry for himself.

* * *

THERE NEVER HAVE been so many organizations pretending to "save" the Negro as there were then. Of course none of them was doing anything more than the NAACP was doing and had been doing for a generation, but certain "educated" Negroes who would not pay dues to a NAACP branch, dumped coin into the coffers of these fly-by-night subversive outfits. Many of our Intellectuals (?) are fascinated by the words "interracial" and "liberal." Even the NAACP staff was crawling with Reds and fellow travelers, and for a time the statements that emanated from it could have been written in Communist headquarters without anybody getting purged.

The result was that by 1948 when the House Committee on Un-American Activities took a secret poll nationally, it learned that most white people believed the whole Negro race was going Red and that something ought to be done about it. The committee knew this was false, and to counteract it the hearings were held in July, 1949, with Jackie Robinson as the star witness. In short, this much-maligned committee did Negroes a greater service than scores of their alleged leaders.

* * *

NOW THAT THE heat is on, Negro and white "intellectuals" have become craven and jumped out of these Red-front organizations which they once so eagerly supported. As a result these outfits have vanished in shoals. In looking over the 144-page "Citation by Official Government Agencies of Organizations and Publications Found to be Communist Fronts" (Dec. 18, 1948. Committee on Un-American Activities), I find that only a fraction of the outfits that flourished such a short while ago now exists.

Many of their Communists have gone underground (where they belong and where the key Communists have always been) while the others are anxiously scanning their comrades, wondering fearfully if they are FBI undercover agents. It is really too bad that so many prominent Negroes remained identified with these "fronts" until the Government collected their names. Now the organizations they joined have disappeared down the drain, speeded by the first justifiable witch hunt in history; but Uncle Sam still has the names. Come World War III, these people will be concentration camp bound for "protective custody," and . . . its later than they think.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Gaston Monnerville a Credit to the French Republic

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. The Editors)

ONE of the show places of Paris is the Luxemburg Palace and its beautiful formal gardens which occupy a large section of the Latin Quarter. Built two centuries ago for a French queen, this palace with its high-ceilinged rooms so ornately gilded and decorated, its priceless paintings and murals, its grand staircase carpeted in regal red, its high, wide windows and its exquisite furnishings is one of the grandest jewels in the French capital. It is a real pleasure to stroll along the garden paths, to admire its flowers and sit beside one of its fountains or pools, the whole surrounded by a fifteen-foot ornamental iron fence. Everybody who visits Paris should be sure to see and enjoy it.

Mr. Schuyler

The Luxemburg Palace is the seat of the French Council of State, or Senate. On its second floor extending along its long side is a tremendous and truly imperial reception room which gleams like a gigantic golden snuff box. The domed ceiling with its colorful paintings must be all of fifty feet high. Here the Senators from the far corners of the French Commonwealth gather in little groups before crossing another, narrower corridor to enter the 320-seat Senate chamber. One sees a black Senator from Dahomey, a Senator in native garb from Algeria, a vivacious brown woman Senator from Equatorial Africa or a Senator from one of the Antillean departments conversing with colleagues from Metropolitan France. It gives one immediately a sense of the meaning of French democracy.

* * *

IT WAS MY privilege on July 4 to attend the session of the French Council of State as the guest of its amiable brown President, the Hon. Gaston Monnerville, of French Guiana, whose position is comparable to that of the Vice President of the United States. Previously I had had a pleasant chat with him in his spacious regal office adjacent to the palace, renewing an acquaintance which began in New York and continued in Port au Prince, Haiti, last Lincoln's birthday.

On the afternoon of the Fourth, accompanied by his secretary, M. Quintard, I stood at the end of the aforementioned corridor awaiting the ceremony attending his entrance. On each side of the corridor were a dozen French Guardsmen with their officers lined up at attention with one drummer on each end of the line. At a sharply spoken command the great mirrored doors at the end of the corridor opened, the drums rolled, swords flashed in salute, and in marched the President of the French Council of States, smiling amiably and followed by his entourage. Bowing right and left to friends, he marched between the facing ranks of guardsmen and, turning to his right, entered the immense Senate chamber where he took his seat behind his semicircular desk high above the tribune.

There is no exaggerating the important position of this colored man and it is difficult to convey the impression of this ceremonial upon the visitor. It will be a long time before the United States can match that sight, if ever.

* * *

THE FRENCH COMMONWEALTH is far-flung to the ends of the earth and below me in the vast legislative chamber sat its many-hued representatives of many nations, creeds and political complexions. The utmost decorum prevailed, unlike in the Chamber of Deputies a mile or so distant, and the deliberations proceeded with dispatch.

Gaston Monnerville is a good-looking, middle-aged, amiable brown man; highly intelligent, well-informed, with keen wit and a ready smile. He is the sort of personality that immediately attracts attention in any gathering. Dapper and impeccably garbed, he is the type that puts everyone at their ease with his charming manners. A reportedly shrewd politician who knows all the "right" people, I would be willing to bet that he will be re-elected next November. He is certainly a credit to the French Republic.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Editor Dabney Is One of the Great Individuals of the Land

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. The Editors)

ONE of my pleasant weekly duties for the past twenty-five years has been reading The Union, America's most unique newspaper, which is published in Cincinnati, Ohio. The Union is a tabloid size paper, usually not more than four pages, so it doesn't take long to read it. One often wishes for more.

What makes The Union unique is not the fact that it is a weekly nor that it is Negro-owned, but rather its unusual contents which consists almost exclusively of the philosophy and opinion of one man about the passing scene.

Mr. Schuyler

This is unique in this day and time when newspapers strive for objectivity, are increasingly departmentalized and the personal touch is vanishing. The Union is the personalized newspaper **par excellence**, the sort of paper that used to be rather common in the highly individualistic America of forty or fifty years ago.

The last two papers of this kind that I recall reading with weekly pleasure were edited and published by Southern white men endowed with that pawky sense of humor for which the country Cracker is famous. One was published in northern Georgia (and unfortunately I can neither remember its name nor that of its editor) and the other was a weekly published in Houston, Tex., by Col. Billy Mayfield, a witty Ku Kluxer with whom I sometimes crossed editorial swords but whose sheet I avidly devoured.

* * *

THE CRACKER PAPER from northern Georgia was filled with homely items about the tiny community and county spiced with the witty observations of the editor who was apparently reporter and printer. This man who probably never left Georgia became known and quoted all over the world.

Mayfield's Weekly was less well known but it was a gem of its kind. It frequently entertained its lint-head readers with such editorial pearls as "Jew, Jug and Jesuit" and "Koon, Kike and Kracker." Its mordant humor rarely failed to fetch a guffaw from the fanciers of rural wit. I awaited its weekly arrival with eager anticipation. High printing costs, libel suits and intellectual regimentation have put most of these sheets out of business, but we still have The Union.

* * *

THE UNION, NOW well past its half century, is owned, edited and published by one of God's noblemen, Wendell Philips Dabney, a native of Virginia but for over fifty years a resident of Cincinnati. Tall, aristocratic and gracious Dabney is one of the great individuals of the land. An expert guitarist with numerous compositions bearing his name, a walking history and encyclopaedia with a vast library, a friend and companion of the great and near-great white and colored, for three generations; former paymaster of the city of Cincinnati for twenty-five years, a stalwart Republican and undoubtedly one of the world's best raconteurs, he gives his newspaper a character unlike any other in this land.

Verse, rhymed headlines, classical quotations, personal anecdotes, Rabelaisian observations, iconoclastic quips, reminiscences—all these flow from his pen in a steady stream to the delight and instruction of his readers scattered over the world. The only thing more entertaining than reading The Union is to sit in an easy chair and listen to W. P. Dabney talk.

* * *

DABNEY AND THE Union remind one in this day when the air is filled with claptrap about social forces, human destiny, world unity, and so forth, that we are ignoring the prepotent influence of the individual. It is the unique personality, rather than the blind movement and vain strivings of the undifferentiated mob, that plays the leading role in shaping the future. It is the ambitions, efforts and ideals of extraordinary men and women of talent to whom can be rightly attributed what progress humanity has made.

One sentence or phrase from a unique personality can sometimes do more to shape thought and opinion, and therefore shape action, than the copious droolings of a thousand mediocrities. Dabney has always been one of those personalities. No one can read his paper without being enriched by the experience.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Courier Sat. 7-29-50

How the Communists Take Over African Students

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. —The Editors)

ONE of the high points of a recent visit to Paris was renewing acquaintance with chic, nimble-witted Jane Vialle whom I had met three months before in New York where she was serving as a member of the ad hoc committee on slavery in the United Nations. Appropriately enough we met quite by chance in the high-doomed, gilt and red-carpeted salon of the gorgeous Luxemburg Palace with the afternoon sun streaming through the high French windows and distinguished Senators from the ends of the earth standing about chatting.

Mr. Schuyler

Born in Equatorial Africa, the daughter of a French official and a high-born African woman, Madame Vaille is a member of the French Council of State, a Senator representing the Ubangui-Shari district, one of the seventeen women in the 320-member upper chamber of the French Legislature. Another colored woman Senator is Madame Felix Eboue, widow of the distinguished French statesman. When you look down from the gallery and see these two brown women in their seats, the French Union takes on new significance.

* * *

MOST PEOPLE ASSOCIATE the Ubangi-Shari with the duck-billed women exhibited by Ringling's circus, but there are only an insignificant handful of these unfortunates left today, such mutilation having long since been outlawed. They are no more representative of Ubangi-Shari than Jeeter Lester of "Tobacco Road" is representative of the United States. Ubangi-Shari has an area of 238,767 square miles. It is larger than France and twice the size of Italy, with a population of 1,062,300, or approximately that of Nebraska. French Equatorial Africa itself is 959,256 square miles or three and a half times the size of Texas, about one-third the size of the USA, with 4,033,733 people. It produces timber, palm oil, rubber, ivory, copper, lead, zinc, cotton, gold and diamonds. For political purposes this immense area is divided into four districts: Gabun, Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari and Chad, each having a Senator. Senator Vaille was born in the district she represents.

Pittsburgh Pa.

* * *

THIS ENERGETIC BROWN woman with the charming smile and exotic eyes must be one of the busiest females in the French Union. From her beautifully furnished four-room apartment on Rue de la Tour, with its priceless collection of African art and arresting paintings, she directs an immense amount of work. In addition to her connection with European women's organizations which takes her on frequent automobile trips to Switzerland (she drives expertly), she is head of the Association des Femmes de L'Union Francaise with branches in Indo-China, Madagascar, the Antilles and Africa; serves on the aforementioned UN committee and supervises African students in Paris attending college. These students are sent on scholarships, and thereby hangs a tale of Red propaganda.

* * *

INEVITABLY SOME OF these students fail in their work and when this happens they are slated to return home. The Communists immediately promise to subsidize them if they will remain in Paris. This done, these youngsters become full-fledged Kremlin stooges parroting Communist claptrap and doing the bidding of their Red bosses.

As we dined in the swank Eiffel Tower restaurant far above the twinkling lights of Paris, Senator Vialle told me with indignation how some of these African students have been corrupted. She also told me how she is resourcefully countering this Red strategy.

Where in the past these students had been housed together in a few hotels or pensions where greenhorns from the colonies and intramural departments could be indoctrinated by one or two Red Africans, she has now adopted a policy of placing the individual students with **non-Red** French families. In this new environment they uniformly make better marks and are removed from Communist after-class influences. It has been another victory for this journalist-sociologist-politician who proudly wears a decoration of the French Resistance for her services for France during the dark days of the occupation.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

'Where Else in the World Will a Negro Woman Drive a Cadillac'?

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

HON. JOHN CARTER of Georgetown, British Guiana, on the northeast shoulder of South America, is 31 years old, and the youngest member of the legislature of that Utah-size colony. Although he lived for several years in England, his recent visit to New York and vicinity was his first to the United States. He brought a letter of introduction from our mutual friend, Dr. Claude Denbow, dynamic dentist of Georgetown, who heads the League of Colored Peoples there, and we had two or three profitable "skull sessions." When Carter left for England not long ago, he promised to write, and his first letter came to hand last week.

Mr. Schuyler

Most significant was this comment on the so-called Land of the Free:

"I must say that my short visit to America has caused me to be very pro-American. Whatever might be the prejudices, whatever the outrages past and present against our people, where else in the world does the Negro get such a splendid opportunity? Where else in the world will a Negro woman drive a Cadillac? Or will Negroes get the opportunity for education that they have in the United States?"

* * *

WHERE, INDEED? Having lived in England, and being rather familiar with the West Indies, and knowing something of South America, this young legislator is able to make comparisons. He was able to tell at a glance, as it were, that Negroes were better off here than elsewhere. It is obvious to anybody who views the scene without bias that the position of colored folk improves daily in this country. Elsewhere most of the colored people, even when aware that there is discrimination practiced against them, are not equipped to do anything about it. They are disarmed by grandiose and flowery-worded expressions of high principles in national legislation and most of them thoroughly approve of the color caste system obtaining in the Caribbean and Latin-American countries. Thus, they are psychologically incapable of fighting color bias.

* * *

IT IS BENEFICIAL to have the views of foreigners because they often see things which we do not notice or which we take for granted. "Where else," asks Mr. Carter, "will a Negro woman drive a Cadillac?" There may be such a phenomenon in a few places in the Caribbean, but I have only seen it in Curacao and Aruba (Dutch West Indies) where the soulless, capitalist oil trust pays thousands of Negroes in its refineries the highest wages outside the U.S.A. There most of the automobiles are American, and Negroes own 75 per cent of them. Everywhere else the bicycle is the favorite means of individual transportation because the people can afford no other, if that.

Not only that, but the position of Negro women (or any other women) is higher and freer than elsewhere. If her family should miraculously own an automobile, the menfolk would be driving it.

* * *

THE COLORED BROTHER here, too, has the blessed privilege of mobility. We don't even think about that here, but there is no such voluntary mobility elsewhere in the world. Millions of people have changed their residence in Soviet Russia in the past thirty years, but they did so at the point of the bayonet, and sealed in cattle cars without windows.

If a Negro here looks upon Rome, Ga., with disfavor for obvious reasons, he can easily move elsewhere, as a couple of million have. Free to select any of forty-eight sovereign states in which to settle, the colored brother can chose the one most to his liking. You can't do that anywhere else, regardless of color.

The difference between slavery and freedom is education and economic opportunity. Negroes here have more of both than white people elsewhere, and are going to have still more. Mr. Carter sees that and he is just a stranger.

Views and Reviews

Brilliant Senator Taft Has Incurred Many Enemies for Principles

AN INDICATION of how intelligent and freedom-loving are the American people will be the results of certain election contests this autumn. Some of the outstanding conflicts are those between Taft and Ferguson for the Ohio senatorial seat, James Roosevelt and Warren for the California governorship, and Powell and Carter for the Harlem Congressional seat.

Mr. Schuyler

Senator Robert A. Taft, the able and distinguished Cincinnatian, is head and shoulders above his Democratic opponent, Joseph T. Ferguson, who is a semi-illiterate hack and, like Truman, a slavish, goose-stepping machine man whom every intelligent person knows to be incompetent.

Ferguson has the backing of the czars of organized labor and the global world-savers of his party who seem bent on impoverishing the American taxpayers to fatten up the world for Stalin.

Taft, the most brilliant man in the Senate and certainly one of the most intellectually honest, has incurred the undying enmity of the AFL and CIO chiefs because of his co-authorship of the Taft-Hartley Act which was passed by Congress to curb their rapacity and dictatorship.

The Truman administration has sidestepped and undermined this law as much as possible in order to get the organized labor vote. Significantly none of these labor leaders ever discuss the provisions of this wise legislation.

The Administration hates Taft because he has been a thorn in the side of the bureaucrats, fellow-travelers and internationalists who are committed to the Roosevelt-Truman policies which have almost bankrupted this country and only strengthened Soviet Russia.

* * *

TAFT WAS AND is against squandering our youth and wealth abroad, and of course that is treason to Truman. Acheson. et al. So the Administration is doing all it can to defeat him, although such interference in the affairs of a sovereign state, whose ambassador Taft is, slaps American traditions in the face. His crime is that he wants to preserve the freedom of the Republic while the Democratic bureaucracy wants only to stay in office.

James Roosevelt's only asset is his surname. He is a mediocrity who has capitalized upon his name for years to feather his nest in the typical Roosevelt manner. There is no comparison between this Get-Rich Wallingford and Governor Warren, and the chances are good that the latter will be reelected, but one never knows.

The American public has become increasingly "educated" through the years and is thus more susceptible to platitudes, cliches, hokum and propaganda.

* * *

IN HARLEM, Elmer A. Carter, a member of the State Commission Against Discrimination, a Harvard graduate, a director of Town Hall, and a man of high character and ability who has distinguished himself in many fields, is running against the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, the present Congressman.

The Rev. Mr. Powell is a slick, demagogic, rabble-rousing opportunist who has been a grave disappointment to the Harlem electorate. While he has not been called a Communist, he has frequently acted and sounded like one, and has been flirting for years with various Communist-front organizations. He seems to be chiefly for Powell, however.

When he has not been absent from his seat in Washington (and he frequently is) he has often voted with the fellow-traveling Marcantonio. It is significant that Congressman Powell was for long nominal editor of The People's Voice, a defunct Harlem weekly scarcely distinguishable from The Daily Worker, organ of the Communist party.

* * *

IN CONGRESS Mr. Powell has been a mediocrity, more distinguished by his travels about the country than by the legislation he has sponsored and supported.

Harlem rose to the occasion last year and chose Earl Brown as City Councilman instead of Ben Davis Jr. This year it should choose Carter to replace the absentee Rev. Mr. Powell.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

'Don't Despair Yourself for Being Born an American Negro'

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier —The Editors)

SOME weeks ago I airmailed a copy of the article, "Profile of Youth: City Girl," from the March issue of the Ladies' Home Journal to my good friend, Joal Conceicao, of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The subject of the article was Miss Myrdice Thornton, a 17-year-old colored girl who is senior at Hyde Park High School in Chicago, Ill The article attracted much attention and stimulated comment among Rio's colored intellectuals. Senhor Conceicao has written his impression of the story, and it contained so much food for thought that I am letting the readers of The Pittsburgh Courier share it with me.

Mr. Schuyler

Senhor Conceicao is one of the better-educated, better-fixed Rio Negroes, is secretary to the president of a big business firm and lives very comfortably in the mid-class Tijuca district of Rio. He has an attractive, intelligent daughter, Nilza, the same age as Myrdice Thornton who is studying to be a school teacher. His wife, Maria, is one of those perennially young, tireless Negro women of the type that keeps things going and gets things done in every one of our communities from coast to coast. While there is not supposed to be any color line in Brazil, the Conceicaos and their friends are extremely race-conscious. Joao's message to Myrdice Thornton follows, exactly as he wrote it in English:

"This message conveys to you the hearty compliments from the Brazilian Negroes who have been fortunate enough to read your story appearing in Ladies' Home Journal. You realize for the Negro in America 'life does not always offer opportunity and democracy.' I am sorry to contradict you just because I feel you live in the most advanced country in the world and where the Negro has attained every means to develop natural capacity both physical and spiritual. You are imagining Negroes in other lands the world over are happier than you are or the democracy of their world is more perfect than yours. You are wrong, my girl, utterly wrong!

* * *

"Let me introduce you to a Brazilian Negro girl, same age as yours, named Maria. Well, her father is dead, too, and was a member of Rio Park Police. His salary was $900 a year which hardly matched his home budget. He could not afford just a "secondary" tuition to his only daughter much less a high school education. He had never been able to save up money to buy his family a shack. Maria used to work in a textile plant by day to provide for a night class at a trade school so as to get a respectful job as secretary or executive assistant. When her father died she had completed her course, the problem now was to get the 'respectful job.' Before I forget, I must tell you that few Negroes in Rio de Janeiro run offices, thus Maria would have to work for white folk. On the other hand, no white folk is willing to take a Negro girl for a secretary. Maria is still looking for that job, every morning she buys the papers and scans the want ads. And when she applies for the position she is turned down just because she lacks 'good' appearance.

* * *

"However, let us suppose Maria's father could have been able to give her the same high education as yours. Then she would have to lead a confined life, I mean confined to her books and a small circle of friends. You see, the social-economic status of the Brazilian Negroes is tremendously low, the ones who are better off DO NOT LIKE TO CONFRATERNIZE with those of his kind, in fact most of them would rather have white people for companions. They seem ashamed of their color. The cultural associations, swank associations where the white entertain themselves seldom take Negroes in their midst or if so the colored fellow is looked upon with contempt by the majority of his fellow-members. It is not easy for a Negro in Rio to apply for admission at the Fluminense Foot-Ball Club, the Brazilian Jockey Club, the Tijuca Tennis Club, or the Rio Country Club. They have a "fact-find board' that bars Negro enrollment.

* * *

"May I confide you a secret? A number of high educated Negroes of my acquaintance are frankly in favor of a color line in Brazil such as exists in your country. They feel they have been cheated and frustrated. There is some mystery about this that the really educated Negroes only know of, for the majority of the underprivileged who dwell in Rio's squatter settlements are too backward to understand it. In Brazil, there are whites, Negroes, browns, light-browns and dark-browns. A white folk is white, but a brown one feels hurt if anyone calls him a Negro. You know, in the States the color of the individual lies in his 'blood,' in my country it is the skin which tells his color. Many colored pass as white, most of them that can. Dear Myrdice Thornton, the word Negro in Brazil is almost a forbidden one, Brazilian Negroes prefer 'colored' to the word NEGRO. I know you live in a big gray stone house with eight rooms, three stories high and it is a house of your own. I can only say that about twenty Negro families in Rio can afford such a luxury. (There are a million Negroes in Rio. G. S. S.) Your house is a palace as compared to the near slums most of our Negroes live in. No, don't despair yourself for being born an American Negro girl, you are living in paradise on earth. Go on doing the best for yourself and remember there are lots of young Negro girls the world over who envy your good luck. Believe me, honey!"

WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

Seretse Khama, like St. George, slew the dragon (British bureaucracy) and will return to Serowe, and Ruth. The Fabian totalitarians may bow the British into planned chaos, but a slender young black man has refused to bend, and the entire world has applauded him. Such manly courage is rare in a world crying for "safety first" and "security."

NANA KOHINA, king of the British "protectorate" of Sekondi in the Gold Coast, is fined $560 and sentenced to prison for three years for having war drums beaten and ordering thousands of his subjects to surround a police detachment in recent disturbances. This punishment could safely be done because Sekondi is far from the world's news spotlight; but it will not calm disturbances. They will continue and grow, which is the headache of Attlee and Company.

Abd el Krim, the old Riffian leader who made it so tough for the French during the Twenties, is carrying on from Cairo where the King of Egypt gave him asylum. Krim heads the National Liberation Committee of North Africans, and he swore last week that 25,000,000 people in Morocco, Algeria and Tunis are prepared to violently revolt unless they get full freedom from European domination and exploitation. Ominously, the 67-year-old warrior warns, "we will accept support from any quarter, even the Soviet Union." These people are not kidding!

• • •

ROBESON, Powell and Perry Howard will not air their views about the position of the Negro in American political life over an NBC hook-up on fellow-traveling Eleanor's program. For this let us all give thanks to the patriots who stymied the deal. Neither has anything of value to say on this subject, or any other for that matter.

Brazil will soon sign contracts with Italy and the Netherlands to bring in over 2,000 families to settle on 470,500 fertile acres in Goyaz state. Brazil, like all other South American countries, does not want colored immigrants, although one of her vast interior states could swallow up all of the surplus population of the Caribbean area. The only countries that welcome dark emigrants are those run by dark people.

• • •

THE DEMOCRAT-DOMINATED House Education Committee last week killed the $300,000,000 aid-to-education bill which had already passed the Senate. The parochial school issue killed it. Shows the growing power of the Catholic Church. This country may eventually be killed off by militant minorities. This is an unpopular thing to say because it treads on many people's corns, but think it over!

• • •

Israel supplied one for the book last week! Zecharia Gluska, Yemenite member of the legislature, asserted in New York that Yemenite Jews (who are very tar-brushed and Negroid) "are not given the same consideration that Western Jewish groups are receiving" and are living under "indescribable conditions" in various camps. Evidently the USA is not the only country with a color problem!

• • •

LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM is far from being a bed of roses for minorities, according to the Asbury Park report of the Jewish Labor Committee which is 500,000 strong. Seems there is a drive against Jews in Russia and other Red-controlled slave pens where they have been subjected to a "ruthless campaign to eradicate their culture, language, literature, religion and national consciousness . . . In Russia last year . . . a drive was begun against all Jews occupying important places in Soviet life.. Of all those liquidated for 'cosmopolitanism' about two-thirds were Jews." Mr. and Mrs. Robeson, please note!

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

More About the Case of H. A. Howard

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

SEVERAL letters have come from California and elsewhere concerning my recent comment on the case of H. A. Howard, founder and former president of the Broadway Federal Savings and Loan Association. With the exception of two they have been commendatory, but these two present facets of the case which I think should be shared with the general Negro public so that it may be in a position to judge the pros and cons of the case intelligently. Not being personally acquainted with Mr. Howard nor a resident of Los Angeles I am not in the same position as Californians to judge the full merits of the controversy.

Mr. Schuyler

I do feel, however, that final judgment should be withheld until the matter has been properly disposed of in the courts. When one of our citizens has pioneered in the direction we want to and must go, and made a valuable contribution to our advancement, we should hesitate to denounce and condemn him until all the facts are in. We cannot tolerate dishonesty in business affairs, but we must also be careful not to discourage those who venture into new and mutually advantageous paths. One adverse letter I cannot publish for reason of libel. The other from Dr. Claude Hudson, president of Broadway Federal, appears below.

• • •

"IN ALL FAIRNESS to the many Los Angeles readers of your column who follow you weekly, I think it is only right that you should print the other side of the story on the Broadway Federal Savings and Loan and H. A. Howard controversy, about which you wrote in the March 4 issue.

"As president of Broadway Federal Savings and Loan, I feel that it is my duty to give you the facts in this case:

"A group of eight business and professional citizens joined H. A. Howard in organizing Broadway Federal, and worked diligently to bring about its high achievement of success. Practically the same group joined Howard in making an application for a Federal charter to open a Negro-controlled national bank in this community.

• • •

"STOCK WAS BEING sold, and progress was being rapidly made toward the culmination of this project, when suddenly, on Sept. 21, 1949 the Federal Home Loan Bank sent an emissary out here to go over a report of the bank examiners who had conducted an examination of the books of the Broadway Federal Savings and Loan Association, dated June 21, 1949. This examiner's report revealed so many irregularities of unethical conduct and financial manipulations by H. A. Howard that the board of directors of the Broadway Federal were impelled to either remove Howard as president and manager of the institution or face the public with the knowledge and admission that if we continued to support Howard we would be held accountable and responsible for condoning his acts.

• • •

"AS OF THAT date, far from being happy, as you indicated in your column, over the misfortunes of one of its members, the community felt a pall of grief and was stunned at the information brought out by fully substantiated affidavits that Howard had allegedly misused the funds of the organization and abused the confidence of the friends who were associated with him.

"To state that white banks were opposing us is a travesty on justice. They offered every encouragement and assistance. To state that the Bank of America was actually opposing us was untrue. The Bank of America, largest bank in the United States, certainly did not feel that a small bank in the Negro community, or Mr. Howard, was any threat to its financial future.

"You stated that 'now was the time for the Negro community to rally 100 per cent behind Howard because a child could see what was being put down.' How far is the Negro community expected to go in defense of one whom the bank examiner's report proved to be at great fault—and whom the FBI, after carefully following up the records of the bank, made such a report that resulted in the indictment of Mr. Howard on twenty-four counts?

• • •

"IS IT NOT time, Mr. Schuyler, that the Negro should hold his leaders to strict accountability? Would you not say that the president of a financial institution certainly must be free of the slightest suspicion of dishonesty?

"Nothing will restore confidence of the Negro in his financial institutions as quickly as the course of action we have followed here. Because we followed the course that we did the community is standing solidly behind the Broadway Federal Savings and Loan Association and as usual it is progressing normally.

"When this matter is cleared up, the business community expects to continue with the proposed plans to open the bank but nothing could be done as long as Mr Howard insisted on creating confusion here even after the Federal investigation of his operations and his subsequent indictment.'

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Schuyler FBI Gives Lowdown on NAACP

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. —The Editors)

WITH the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People conferring in Boston this week, it is not untimely to discuss the palace intrigue and conspiracies centering in the national headquarters on West Fortieth Street in New York with ramifications throughout the Republic. It is my conviction that more institutions, organizations and nations are destroyed from within than from without—many more. As the sainted Karl Marx (nicknamed the Moor because he was so dark albeit he was anti-Negro and anti-Semitic) observed, every organism contains the seeds of its destruction.

Mr. Schuyler

The NAACP headquarters has never been without its intrigues and scandals, and a factual expose of them would be alternately amusing and depressing; but most of them have been kept under cover and known only to insiders. In the past year the dirty and ragged linen has been hung on the line for all to see. Bunions have been kicked so vigorously and knives have been wielded so viciously that the pains and wounds will be a long time healing, if ever.

* * *

THERE HAVE BEEN wheels within wheels of intrigue. The denunciations, whisperings, accusations and backbiting remind one of the confessions of an ex-Communist about life in and around the Kremlin. Business began to pick up some time after Walter White went on his leave of absence and became increasingly intense until the recent directors' meeting when the secretary got another lease on the payroll with curtailed authority. Although he and Wilkins had worked closely together for twenty years, various individuals and factions gravitated around each and the whole thing broke out into an old-fashioned Pier 6 brawl with the two Goliaths swapping indirect blows. Never were feelings so tense within a board meeting, never was there so much scrambling for a workable compromise, never did such shoals of letters from the membership go unread. Never did so many directors, fearful of the effect of this brawling on the organization's future, resort to tears.

* * *

GOING BACK SOME months to dredge the bottom of this affair, the Schuyler F.B.I. learned that a prominent official of the board strove with might and main to make Wilkins look bad, notably by failure to clear up messes as they arose. This person is a close friend of White. Another executive reportedly made arrangements for Walter to speak to branches (although he was supposed to be on leave) without consulting the acting secretary. Another executive assiduously circulated rumors that there were "tensions" in the office and that hereafter White and Wilkins would have "difficulty" working together in the same organization. At the height of the controversy between Judge Delany and Wilkins, an executive told all and sundry that "there is something to be said on both sides." Another executive was working hand-in-glove with a prominent director from the dissident New York branch, and leaked several stories to newspapers that the staff had said this particular director "must go" and circulated the lie that the venerable co-founder, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, had resigned from the board.

* * *

ON THE BOARD the Iron Curtain bloc slashed at every little angle, no matter how trivial, to cause confusion. This clique succeeded in putting the board in such asinine moves as (1) naming a committee to investigate and determine if board committees were being influenced by the paid staff, and (2) naming a committee to confer with a distaff side director and try to get her to reconsider her resignation, after she had insulted the board and told a fabrication about the association's membership.

It is also reported by my emissaries that there were frequent communications between certain executives and the absent-on-leave secretary on the association's administration but rarely any between him and his supposed right-hand man (Wilkins) who had been delegated by the board as acting secretary. It is alleged that on one occasion mimeographed communications were sent out from the national office at the behest of the recuperating and absent secretary but without the knowledge of Wilkins.

* * *

BUT THE STUFF that really floored my investigators was the depths to which the intrigue sunk in the cases of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Judge Waring. What was behind the former's tender of resignation from the board and the latter's refusal to appear at a luncheon or tea given by a group of New York colored women is a very long story; but every inch of it is as low and petty as any intrigues thought up by Machiavelli, and he was a genius at the business. Indeed, it is so bad, so incredible, that I am ashamed to write it . . . and I'm a pretty rugged individual.

A whole chapter could be written about the attacks on Walter by the pink-tinted master minds of several branches, including those in New York where there have been heavy Red infiltrations since the Communist-front National Negro Congress was flushed down the drain after Dr. Max Yergan saw the light and cut out, thus losing Red financial support for The People's Voice, which promptly died. Ever since then the Reds have been boring-from-within the NAACP, using Moscow-tainted directors and executives.

This clique was furious when Roy Wilkins successfully thwarted their attempt to "capture" the Civil Rights Mobilization last January, which drew 5,000 people from thirty-three states. This was more than had ever come to the capital in behalf of any legislation, was three times as big as any Communist crowd that ever assembled there, and three times larger (2,900 NAACP members alone) than the attendance at any NAACP annual conference. Naturally the Reds hated not to take it over.

* * *

FORTUNATELY THE MAIN NAACP work has gone on, intrigue or no intrigue, thanks to the loyalty of the rank-and-file membership, and that is what counts. But if the organization is to work smoothly in the future, there's gotta be some changes made.

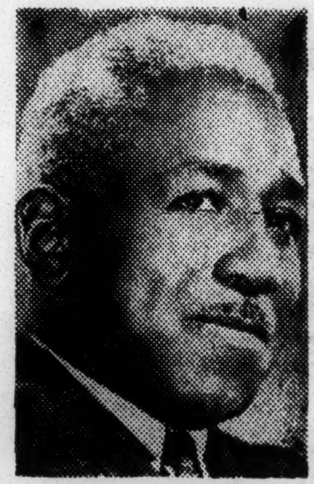
By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Disgraceful Examples of Journalistic Mediocrity

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

NO floods of tears will greet the news that the Wendell L. Willkie Awards are to be abandoned. In 1945 Mrs. Eugene Meyer, wife of the publisher of the New Deal-loving Washington Post, established a fund to give monetary awards to Negro newspaper folk in honor of the late phony politician, Wendell L. Willkie, who won the dubious distinction of being a liberal and thus became the darling of the nation's fuzzy-minded. Apparently the purpose of the awards was to lift the standards of Negro journalism. The first judges were white and headed by former FEPC Chairman Mark F. Ethridge of Louisville's Courier-Journal who sold FEPC down the river in his infamous war-time speech in Birmingham. Chairman of the awards committee was another Southern editor, Dr. Douglass Southall Freeman, editor of Richmond's News Leader. The first awards in March, 1946, were disgraceful examples of journalistic mediocrity.



Mr. Schuyler

* * *

Following loud whoops of indignation from many of the Negro newspaper brethren, the committee was reorganized as a corporation and three Negroes were selected as officers: Frank L. Stanley of the Louisville Defender, William O. Walker of the Cleveland Call and Post and P. B. Young of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. Other Negroes made members of the corporation were that eminent fellow-traveler, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the omnipresent Dr. Channing H. Tobias and the theologian, Dr. Charles H. Wesley. Dr. DuBois had no experience as a journalist (unless editing The Crisis could be so described) while the other two were about as familiar with the business as Chiang Kai Shek is with coon-can. On the judging committee of five were Messrs. Stanley and Young. Strangely enough Mr. Young's Journal and Guide won a money prize and Mr. Stanley collared honorable mention. Again mediocrity had a field day, and if anything, the second awards were sorrier than the first.

* * *

Judiciously passing over 1947, the committee decided to hand the ugly duckling over to the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University, hatchery of Communists and fellow-travelers, in the vain hope that the Harvard group would succeed where it had failed, and lift the whole business to the stature of the Pulitzer prizes.

Sad to relate, the subsequent awards were no more discerning or fair than the previous ones, and indeed bordered on the ridiculous. How any group or committee that had read the leading fifty Negro newspapers week by week could make such selections is more of a mystery than the disappearance of Hitler. They actually sank to a lower level than the previous ones despite the seeming impossibility of that feat.

Now that the whole thing has been abandoned, happily, perhaps a bit of editorializing on the fiasco is in order.

* * *

Assuming that the members of the awards committee were sincere and competent (and I'll not fight those who would deny it!), the machinery of selection was dunderheaded to the point of asininity. Papers were asked to send in what they considered meritorious, but no real effort was made to get such offerings from each paper. Of course, the intelligent way to have done it would have been to ask each paper to make a complimentary yearly subscription to the committee which could then have judged all of the newspapers, week after week, for the entire year. You would have thought this would occur to people reportedly above the mental age of eight years.

Although not a racial chauvinist, I doubt that a committee of white people, even distinguished editors, is competent to make awards of this kind because they simply do not approach this civilization from the same direction or angle as the intelligent colored citizen. This is evidenced by the first editorial award which, with a great fanfare, gave the prize to an editorial which derided and lampooned Negro soldiers abroad for having sex relations with English women, with some cutting remarks about Negro men being oversexed. Aside from violating good taste by refurbishing an old Negrophobic canard, there is no evidence whatever that Negro men are any more sexual than white ones. With what women would Negro soldiers consort in England except English women? White American soldiers did exactly the same thing. What else, indeed, did the service men get out of the war, Roosevelt and Truman having sold the fruits of victory down the Volga?

* * *

As badly as the first white committee chose, the Nieman boys did no better. At first thought, one would have imagined the second awards committee would have done better because some Negroes were on it, but it didn't. Perhaps it lacked vision and a philosophy, which is true of so many people of prominence. This lack is apparent in the functioning of many of our organizations and institutions.

I should like to see the Negro Publishers Association set up a real committee of competent Negroes who would examine all of the Negro newspapers with unbiased vision and a sincere desire to select the most meritorious work for award. There is need for such a committee to encourage the highest standards of workmanship and service. Our newspapers need improving and those who are trying should be encouraged. Perhaps it might be well to select as judges Negroes trained in journalism, but not connected with any Negro newspaper. There are several such.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Dixie Isn't Heaven, But It's Getting Better All the Time

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

THE decision of the U. S. Federal Court in Birmingham, Ala., invalidating the discriminatory contract between the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio Railroad and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers as illegal and compelling the Brotherhood to pay the injured Negro firemen damages is another landmark on the road toward the goal of a jim-crow-less America. Another indication on a smaller scale is the action of the Savannah, Ga., police department in eliminating a separate Negro police station maintained for three years and hereafter colored and white police will work out of the same station. There are so many other evidences that we shall have to keep progressively revising our picture of what the South is, if we are to think straight.

Mr. Schuyler

* * *

IN ITS RECENT report, the Southern Regional Council composed of distinguished colored and white Southerners from all walks of life in thirteen Southern states sited the following examples of recent integration of Negroes into the functions of public committees and groups:

Arkansas' Governor named J. Robert Booker, president of the National Bar Association, to the Governor's Commission for the Recodification of the Arkansas statutes.

W. T. Gantt, South Carolina Negro educator, has been made staff member of the South Carolina Department of Education.

In Columbia, S. C., four Negroes were elected to the city's Democratic executive committee, and in one instance a white committeeman yielded his position so that a Negro might be elected.

In Winston-Salem, N. C., A. T. Harrington, Negro insurance agent, was appointed to the City Zoning Board of Adjustment.

In Wilmington, N. C., the Rev. Irving Boone was appointed to the City Commission on Parks and Recreation, being the third Negro to be so named.

In Jacksonville, Fla., where women recently became eligible for jury service, one of the first to be called was Mrs. Florence J. Dixon, director of the Negro YWCA.

In Petersburg, Va., James A. Jackson, Negro mortician, was announced as Democratic candidate for the City Council, and simultaneously two Negroes were named to the Petersburg Central Democratic Committee in precinct elections.

In Richmond, Va., Mrs. Margaret B. Cooke was appointed Public Health Nursing supervisor in the local health department. Reportedly this was another "first."

There is also Negro representation on local public housing authorities in Daytona Beach, Fla.; Durham, N. C.; Louisville, Ky.; Nashville, Tenn.; Newport News, Va., and Roanoke, Va.

* * *

AS IF THIS were not enough Southern "horror" to make one's blood run cold, there are the ghastly facts about Negro farm ownership. They own 12,336,794 acres (about 19,000 square miles), or twice the size of Maryland. The average size of these Negro-owned farms is 78.3 acres. Some individual Negro farmers last year grossed as high as $175,000. Of the 672,783 Negro farmers in the South last year, 189,215 were owners. This surpasses the total population of Jacksonville, Fla. The value of crops harvested by Negro farmers last year was one billion dollars. Farm implements used by Negro farmers alone in the South were worth $65,148,210, which shows what a vast market they control.

* * *

THE NUMBER OF Negro farm owners in the South has decreased by about 25,000 since 1910, and they are cultivating 3,000,000 less acres, but they still seem to be doing pretty good in an area which we are told is terror-stricken.

We do not need any statistics to know about the increased well-being of Negroes in the urban South. It is only necessary to travel through the area and see the vast number of new homes, schools and businesses, to undesrtand that "there've been some changes made." There are Negro builders in several cities in the South who have erected hundreds of new houses. Indeed, in some places the percentage of Negro home owners is equal to that of the whites. While white Americans generally have a greater income than their colored brethren, it is cause for reflection that: 12.9 per cent of whites and 14 per cent of Negroes make from $1,000 to $1,500 a year; that 9.5 per cent white and 10 per cent non-whites make $1,500 to $2,000 annually; that 1.1 per cent whites and 0.2 per cent Negreos make from $5,000 to $6,000 a year, while 0.8 per cent of the whites and 0.2 per cent Negroes make from $6,000 to $10,000 annually. Considering handicaps, that's remarkable.

Of course these latter figures are for the entire country, but it must be remembered that nearly eleven million Negroes live in Dixie (more than ever before) despite scare talk about a disproportionate number of Negroes migrating from the South. It is doubtful that the 1950 census figures will disprove this. What has been happening is that while the number of farm Negroes has decreased by one-third since 1940, and these have gone to the cities, most of these new urban dwellers are in Southern cities where, as elsewhere, employment and pay are up.

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THIS IS NOT to assert or argue that Dixie is Heaven (even Talmadge does not claim that!) but to point out that it is far better than it was, and is getting better all of the time. No one group, organization, battle or condition can claim credit for the change. Rather it is the result of many, many forces, efforts and impacts, white and black, sectional and national, even international. Let us recognize and admit this bold fact, and stop looking at Dixie through the spectacles of 1910, 1920 and 1930. We shall be misled if we do not.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

'Our Independence Is in Greater Peril Than Ever'

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

AS the nation celebrates Independence Day, it is alarming to note that it is rapidly losing its independence. For the past fifty years or more the bulk of Americans have been argued, hustled, maneuvered and tricked into international commitments and complications by various selfish interests at home and abroad although 90 per cent of our patriots were Americans first and last, unperturbed by the fate of the teeming, starving and contentious masses overseas. They accepted as their creed the admonition of George Washington to avoid entangling alliance with foreign states. This Washingtonian dictum has been ridiculed by certain elements and their professional propagandists so consistently that most Americans have come to believe that it is a crime NOT to be mixed up in every intrigue and dog fight everywhere. It has come to be regarded as akin to treason to be concerned with America first, and those who do have been dubbed "isolationists."

Mr. Schuyler

LIKE ALMOST EVERYTHING that is generally believed, this is a fiction. The United States has never been isolationist in the sense that Japan was a Hermit Kingdom for so many centuries. It has maintained diplomatic relations with almost all established nations. Its people have poured billions of dollars into missionary schools and hospitals from the Arctic to the tropics. Its Red Cross has rushed relief to every affiliated area in the world when disaster overtook alien peoples with fire, flood, hurricane or famine. It has participated in almost all international conferences of importance. It has helped to arbitrate quarrels and conflicts. Its commercial relations have encompassed the globe.

It helped to suppress the Barbary pirates. It helped to suppress the drug traffic on which European and Asiatic nations fattened. It helped to suppress the slave trade. It prevented European nations from re-enslaving other American states. It drove the Spaniards from the Philippines and Cuba and gave those peoples their freedom. It grabbed Hawaii before other nations did so and is now about to accept it as a state. It muscled Panama from Colombia, but then paid the latter $25,000,000 in conscience money. It paid Denmark for the Virgin Islands instead of just taking them as it could have. It occupied Haiti and the Dominican Republic but later restored their independence when internal butchery was ended and a semblance of order restored. It aided in the disgraceful Boxer "War" in China but used its indemnity to educate young Chinese in our universities.

* * *

SO THE UNITED STATES has never been isolationist. What the Britain-lovers, France-lovers, Italy-lovers and the lovers and haters of Germany, Russia and Spain mean when they hurl the charge of "isolationism" is that a lot of farseeing Americans have been anti-war in the sense of not wanting embroilment in Europe's continual holocausts. Those who opposed our involvement in World War I were denounced as "willful" and "treasonable" German-lovers. Those who took the same position prior to World War II were likewise characterized. They were right, of course, because they foresaw that America would get out of these European entanglements just what it did get: i.e., millions of dead and wounded, millions of Gold Star Mothers, hundreds of billions of debts, waste of our natural resources and capital wealth, disruption of our social life, and not a single thing more. Fortunately, and thanks to our real patriots, we kept out of the League of Nations. Thanks to our America Lasters, we are mixed up in the stillborn United Nations, and are now committed to bank-rolling a score of bankrupt nations and defending them against Communist aggression at the expense of the American taxpayers, which means you and you.

* * *

IF WE HAD had an honest, intelligent and anti-war Government, we would have let the Japanese expand to the Asiatic mainland and become a bulwark against the Communist aggressors. We would have stayed out of the European mess and let the various Communist and Socialist governments battle themselves to a stalemate. It was to our interest that Britain go down the drain and lose its empire which we could have taken over and ultimately given its enslaved peoples their independence as we did the Philippines and Cuba. The same is true of Belgium, Holland, France and Italy. It was to our interest to let the two major totalitarian powers, Germany and Russia, fight themselves to exhaustion with no help from us, thus killing off communism and nazism (alike as two peas in a pod) and enabling both peoples to liberate themselves from the chains of Hitler and Stalin.

Instead we saved the Kremlin clique with Lend Lease during and after the war, and agreed to the insane policy destroying German industrialism, the only bulwark against the ultimate destruction of the Western socialists whom our interventionists profess to love. Had we followed such an intelligently selfish policy, thinking of America first, we would have automatically become the richest and strongest nation, consuming our wealth internally, supreme in science, industry, education and health, minus our tremendous debt burden, with no war wounded and dead, and no Gold Star Mothers.

The Russian people would have thrown off their Red tormenters. The Japanese instead of the Moscow-dominated Reds would be free of Communist menace and several African states would be emerging to nationhood.

* * *

IT IS PRETENDED that George Washington could not forsee 150 years ago the ultimate menace to America of foreign entanglements because world conditions have so changed, and so his advice should be ignored. But for all the radio, airplanes, trains, telephones and other marvels, men remain much as they were and so do their prejudices, hatreds and antagonisms. We have enough opportunities and problems here without interfering in foreign wars and intrigues. It is because we ignored his advice from Wilson to Truman that on this Independence Day our independence is in greater peril than ever.

'Dixie Isn't Heaven, But Gets Better All the Time'

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER is a Negro, 55 years of age. He was born in Rhode Island. He has been artisan and soldier, a first lieutenant in our Army in World War I. He is one of the ablest writers in contemporary journalism. His signature was over many an article in the *American Mercury* when Mencken was editor and in *The Nation* under Villard.

He is associate editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier* but in his signed column often differs with the editorial policy of his paper, especially in respect of the "reformers," white and colored, who make a profession of denouncing what they call "Southern barbarism and atrocities." He is no sycophant, bowing obsequiously, but he argues consistently that on the whole the Negro suffers no greater degree of discrimination in the South than elsewhere, that the Negro has in general a better opportunity for a useful, comfortable and secure life here than elsewhere, and that in large part the Negro's problem of raising his economic and social estate rests more on his own merits than any other factor.

In the *Pittsburgh Courier* of May 20 Schuyler writes a column from which we take a segment which we think merits general attention at this time:

Negroes own 12,336,794 acres of farm lands, about 19,000 square miles or twice the size of Maryland. The average size of these farms is 78.3 acres. Some individual Negro farmers last year grossed as high as $175,000. Of the 672,783 Negro farmers in the South last year, 189,215 were owners. This surpasses the total population of Jacksonville.

The value of crops harvested by Negro farmers last year was one billion dollars. Farm implements used by Negro farmers alone in the South were worth $65,148,210, which shows what a vast market they control.

We do not need any statistics to know about the increased well-being of Negroes in the urban South. It is only necessary to travel through the area and see the vast number of new homes, schools and businesses to understand that "there've been some changes made." There are Negro builders in several cities in the South who have erected hundreds of new houses. Indeed, in some places the percentage of Negro homeowners is equal to that of the whites. While white Americans generally have a greater income than their colored brethren, it is cause for reflection that: 12.9 per cent of whites and 14 per cent of Negroes make from $1.000 to $1.500 a year: that 9.5 per cent white and 10 per cent non-whites make $1.500 to $2,000 annually; that 1.1 per cent whites and 0.2 per cent Negroes make from $5,000 to $6,000 a year, while 0.8 per cent of the whites and 0.2 per cent Negroes make from $6,000 to $10,000 annually. Considering handicaps, that's remarkable.

Of course these latter figures are for the entire country, but it must be remembered that nearly eleven million Negroes live in Dixie (more than ever before) despite scare talk about a disproportionate number of Negroes migrating from the South. It is doubtful that the 1950 census figures will disprove this. What has been happening is that while the number of farm Negroes has decreased by one-third since 1940, and these have gone to the cities, most of these new urban dwellers are in Southern cities where, as elsewhere, employment and pay are up.

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The caption over this article was, "Dixie Isn't Heaven, But It's Getting Better All the Time." It seems to us that tells the truth, despite the "horrors" depicted by incendiaries of the North and incitations of politicians in the South.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Explains Opposition to Communism

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. The Editors)

ONE OF MY readers has sent in a lengthy letter inquiring why I have expressed such bitter opposition to communism and thereby "line up with the reactionary forces in this country." Rarely do I bother to reply to such critics because they are usually Reds or fellow travellers and thus unworthy of reply, but I think this fellow is simply an ordinary, confused American who means well, but is puzzled by the Communist device of swearing all who criticize them as reactionaries, Fascists, and so forth.

Mr. Schuyler

My opposition to communism, and other forms of totalitarianism, regardless of name, is based on the conviction that they are reactionary rather than radical. Instead of leading to a freer society, they lead to absolutism and slavery, to which all people who have the interest of humanity at heart are opposed. These societies undermine parental respect and control and thus lead to destruction of the family. In all societies that are stable and lasting, the family is basic.

* * *

TOTALITARIAN SOCIETIES GO backward instead of forward. They go back as far as ancient Egypt by introducing worship of the state as symbolized by the head of the state. In the barbaric states of the past the king or emperor was God and his every word was law not to be contradicted by other mortals. In the totalitarian states of the past, the leader is also a sort of god whose word is law and who is contradicted or opposed on pain of death. Thus Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, Tito, and so forth. They curb and finally destroy free will and individual initiative, and they humiliate their underlings by making mere robots of them, subject unquestioningly to dictates from above.

The totalitarian state is reactionary because it is unicellular, which is the lowest form of organism. All progress is based upon differentiation. The more complex a civilization, the higher it is; the more simple it is, the lower it is in the scale of social development.

* * *

THE TOTALITARIAN STATE (Communist, Socialist, Planned Economy, Welfare, etc.) is centralized, vertical, absolute. Whether Russian, British or otherwise, it has an economic plan which necessitates ownership or control of the industry, commerce, agriculture and banking of the nation. Since all of these facilities are operated by people, the latter have to be controlled along with the inanimate assets. It is not possible, for instance, to control mining, transportation and manufacture without controlling the workers in those industries, whether or not they want to be controlled. Any centralized plan is unworkable if the individuals who operate it are permitted to do as they please. Force is necessary to compel them to do as they are told, when, as and where they are told to do it, on pain of fine and/or imprisonment. Obviously this is slavery. It is worse than chattel slavery because the worker has no monetary value and can thus be destroyed or at least removed from circulation without any loss to his owner (the state).

* * *

ONE FORM OF compulsion is the ration card which if withdrawn can result in starvation. Rationing is a characteristic of the Communist state. Another form of compulsion is the assignment to work in a specific place on penalty of discharge or imprisonment. Since all industry is controlled by the state, to be blackballed from one job is to be blackballed from all. It is curious that pepole who condemn the worst features of the plantation system under capitalism will turn around and endorse the collective farm system which is even worse. The alternative to working on a collective farm is to go to a concentration camp in the desert or the Arctic. In this connection I recommend for reading

"Forced Labor in Soviet Russia" by Dallin and Nicolevsky (Yale University Press $5) or "The Russian Enigma" by Ciliga.

Another effective form of compulsion is the system of penalties for tardiness or absence. These range from fines for being over fifteen minutes late the first two or three times to sentences to work several months for nothing or to banishment to a work camp "in the woods," as they say in Russia. The number of these and so-called political prisoners in the Soviet Union range from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000. (By contrast capitalist U. S. A. state and federal prisons and reformatories in 1946 was 141,404.) For further information read "Communism in Action" (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1946). During the 250 years of the capitalist slave trade the total brought from Africa was about 10,000,000. The USSR is thirty-two years old. Significantly scores of coal miners in socialist Britain have been banished forever from their jobs because of absenteeism.

* * *

COMMUNIST STATES BY control of banking can change the value of currency at will. After World War II, Soviet Russia suddenly issued a new currency and then ordered its people to exchange the old for the new at the ratio of ten old rubles for one new one, or go to jail.

Throughout our industrial civilization for well over a century, liberal reformers have fought for legalization of labor unions, the right to strike and the right of collective bargaining. Communism everywhere has outlawed strikes as treasonable and labor unions have been reduced to mere agencies for speeding production through piece work. Only fast workers get a living wage and adequate rations. All labor leaders, being party members, are subject to the party discipline. This was also true in Nazi Germany.

Where the state is supreme, all religious, social and educational institutions are subordinate to it. For details see "Communism in Action." This explains the persecution of the churches in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Russia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, all totalitarian countries.

Communism loudly proclaims equality of the sexes. In practice this means putting women to work on men's jobs in mines, in factories, in construction camps and on docks, with time off for nursing infants.

Every intelligent, humane person must oppose such reactionism.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Disgraceful Examples of Journalistic Mediocrity

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. —The Editors)

NO floods of tears will greet the news that the Wendell L. Willkie Awards are to be abandoned. In 1945 Mrs. Eugene Meyer, wife of the publisher of the New Deal-loving Washington Post, established a fund to give monetary awards to Negro newspaper folk in honor of the late phony politician, Wendell L. Willkie, who won the dubious distinction of being a liberal and thus became the darling of the nation's fuzzy-minded. Apparently the purpose of the awards was to lift the standards of Negro journalism. The first judges were white and headed by former FEPC Chairman Mark F. Ethridge of Louisville's Courier-Journal who sold FEPC down the river in his infamous war-time speech in Birmingham. Chairman of the awards committee was another Southern editor, Dr. Douglass Southall Freeman, editor of Richmond's News Leader. The first awards in March, 1946, were disgraceful examples of journalistic mediocrity.

Mr. Schuyler

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Following loud whoops of indignation from many of the Negro newspaper brethren, the committee was reorganized as a corporation and three Negroes were selected as officers: Frank L. Stanley of the Louisville Defender, William O. Walker of the Cleveland Call and Post and P. B. Young of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. Other Negroes made members of the corporation were that eminent fellow-traveler, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the omnipresent Dr. Channing H. Tobias and the theologian, Dr. Charles H. Wesley. Dr. DuBois had no experience as a journalist (unless editing The Crisis could be so described) while the other two were about as familiar with the business as Chiang Kai Shek is with coon-can. On the judging committee of five were Messrs. Stanley and Young. Strangely enough Mr. Young's Journal and Guide won a money prize and Mr. Stanley collared honorable mention. Again mediocrity had a field day, and if anything, the second awards were sorrier than the first.

* * *

Judiciously passing over 1947, the committee decided to hand the ugly duckling over to the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University, hatchery of Communists and fellow-travelers, in the vain hope that the Harvard group would succeed where it had failed, and lift the whole business to the stature of the Pulitzer prizes.

Sad to relate, the subsequent awards were no more discerning or fair than the previous ones, and indeed bordered on the ridiculous. How any group or committee that had read the leading fifty Negro newspapers week by week could make such selections is more of a mystery than the disappearance of Hitler. They actually sank to a lower level than the previous ones despite the seeming impossibility of that feat.

Now that the whole thing has been abandoned, happily, perhaps a bit of editorializing on the fiasco is in order.

* * *

Assuming that the members of the awards committee were sincere and competent (and I'll not fight those who would deny it!), the machinery of selection was dunderheaded to the point of asininity. Papers were asked to send in what they considered meritorious, but no real effort was made to get such offerings from each paper. Of course, the intelligent way to have done it would have been to ask each paper to make a complimentary yearly subscription to the committee which could then have judged all of the newspapers, week after week, for the entire year. You would have thought this would occur to people reportedly above the mental age of eight years.

Although not a racial chauvinist, I doubt that a committee of white people, even distinguished editors, is competent to make awards of this kind because they simply do not approach this civilization from the same direction or angle as the intelligent colored citizen. This is evidenced by the first editorial award which, with a great fanfare, gave the prize to an editorial which derided and lampooned Negro soldiers abroad for having sex relations with English women, with some cutting remarks about Negro men being oversexed. Aside from violating good taste by refurbishing an old Negrophobic canard, there is no evidence whatever that Negro men are any more sexual than white ones. With what women would Negro soldiers consort in England except English women? White American soldiers did exactly the same thing. What else, indeed, did the service men get out of the war, Roosevelt and Truman having sold the fruits of victory down the Volga?

* * *

As badly as the first white committee chose, the Nieman boys did no better. At first thought, one would have imagined the second awards committee would have done better because some Negroes were on it, but it didn't. Perhaps it lacked vision and a philosophy, which is true of so many people of prominence. This lack is apparent in the functioning of many of our organizations and institutions.

I should like to see the Negro Publishers Association set up a real committee of competent Negroes who would examine all of the Negro newspapers with unbiased vision and a sincere desire to select the most meritorious work for award. There is need for such a committee to encourage the highest standards of workmanship and service. Our newspapers need improving and those who are trying should be encouraged. Perhaps it might be well to select as judges Negroes trained in journalism, but not connected with any Negro newspaper. There are several such.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Each Nation Has Its Own Prejudices and Discriminations

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

IMPLICIT in the world-wide propagandizing against the United States which harps on color prejudice, discrimination and segregation in the Land of the Free, is the assumption that such phenomena is an American monopoly; that here only are to be found class and caste prejudices and discrimination.

Mr. Schuyler

The fact is that each nation has its own prejudices and discriminations quite as vicious and unreasoning as those which propagandists and America-haters inside and outside this country publicize about our nation. Indeed, this is simply a human trait, deplorable though it may be, and other peoples have made no more headway in eradicating it than we have; indeed, some not as much.

Courier

LATEST IN THE news is the current strife between the Flemings and Walloons in Belgium who have hated and discriminated against each other for centuries. The fight over the much-maligned King Leopold has been a struggle almost exactly between these two groups, one Catholic, the other Protestant; one French-speaking, the other German-speaking. The same Belgian editors and Laborites who are shocked over jim crowism in the U. S. A., condone a completely jim crow Congo colony much larger than our entire South (See "Black and White" by Martin Flavin).

There are more class and nationalistic prejudices in the Balkans than we ever dreamed about here, as for example the bitter feuds between the Greeks and Macedonians.

Sat.-8-26-50

IN PARIS RECENTLY I got first-hand information about how the "liberal" French (who denounce America's racial intolerance and bias) treat the Algerians in their midst, most of whom look like people on South Parkway or Lenox Avenue. Being theoretically citizens of France, they can and do come freely to "their" capital, but in order to get work they would need an FEPC. Deprived of a chance to make a living, they make it the best way they can, which is often illegal. The Algerians are bitter about the way the gendarmes and Surete men beat and bloody them on the slightest provocation. The French want nothing to do with anybody without money. (See Claude McKay's "Banjo.")

* * *

THERE HAVE LONG been complaints against color discrimination in Britain which led to the formation of the League of Colored Peoples dedicated to fighting jim crow in England. The little colonies of blacks in English cities are simply tolerated and those who seek work would welcome the economic opportunities available to Negroes in Atlanta or Birmingham.

Of course, some Negro travelers are always waxing ecstatic about the wonderful reception they got in places where Negroes were so scarce as to be a curiosity. Obviously one does not find color bias where there are no colored people. But how about the Europe-wide prejudice against Jews, even in the "Heaven" of Soviet Russia? Why do you suppose these Jews are streaking for Israel from all directions? Could it be because of prejudice?

Pittsburgh, Pa.

IT IS UNNECESSARY for me to dwell upon color bias in Latin America because I have written more about it than anybody else. Right now Brazil's Congress is being asked to pass a bill outlawing color discrimination in public places, the foreign service and the Naval and Air Force academies. Why?

Color prejudice is rife in the West Indies and I can join the most exclusive club in Washington, D. C., easier than a black man can join most private clubs in the Caribbean. In Burma they hate the Indians and Chinese, as also in Malaya. India's castes are notorious, also the hatred between Moslems and Hindus. The Soviet "solution" to its nationalism problems is to give each group its reservation or "People's Republic" bossed from Moscow! In the U. S. that would be called segregation.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

God Save Us From Our 'Friends'

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

FRANKLY, I am unable to join the enthusiastic hullabaloo over Hollywood's "new departure" in producing such films as "Pinky," "Home of the Brave," "Lost Boundaries," "The Jackie Robinson Story" and the latest one, "No Way Out." I seriously doubt that any of them have improved so-called race relations by bringing about greater "understanding" or that they ever will. Some of them may have conceivably done more harm than good because I regard them all as basically phony, although there are some authentic characterizations and occasional convincing scenes. "Intruder in the Dust" rang truer than any of them, and it was far from convincing. One continually finds one's self asking, "Would this happen?"

Mr. Schuyler

Courier

IT IS QUITE clear that all these screen stories have been conceived, written, "experted" and directed by white people with preconceived notions about the psychology of American Negroes as Negroes and an itch to put over propaganda rather than portray a believable tale. It is apparent that they rarely, if ever, have consulted informed colored people before production, and if any were consulted they were as likely as not professional propagandists with an eye to reform rather than drama. In all honesty I cannot say that I enjoyed any of them and there is none that I have wanted to see again.

Sat. 8-19-50

EVERY LITERARY editor knows that the mere fact that an event has happened on occasion is no guarantee that it is good story material. Great stories must be believable stories. The picture "Pinky" was not. Neither was "Home of the Brave," while the "Lost Boundaries" and "Jackie Robinson" films were simply topical pictures; sort of cinematic sports which prove nothing and convince few because they are too obviously propaganda. "Intruder in the Dust" was more entertaining to me than any of them.

* * *

A FEW NIGHTS back I saw a preview of the latest of these "racial theme" pictures, "No Way Out" and it is the most far-fetched and least believable of the lot. The others were more or less harmless save in the violence they did to credulity, but "No Way Out" is rather sinister in its implications.

Here is a young Negro doctor, the first on the staff of a big municipal hospital, who is called to attend two white brothers, criminals wounded by police. One of them dies after the doctor has treated him and the surviving brother accuses the physician of having killed him. The vindictive criminal gets word out to his gang and these whites prepare to raid the Negro community. But the Negroes get word, organize and lead an attack against the whites, defeating the latter and filling the hospital with them. One distraught white mother spits in the black doctor's face and spouts the usual epithets. Unable to continue, the doctor rushes away and walks the streets all night. Later the

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

'No Way Out' Is Defeatist, Anti-Negro Propaganda

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

THE LEADING periodical of Jewish intellectuals in this country is **Commentary**, edited by Elliot E. Cohen, at 34 W. Thirty-third Street, New York, N. Y. It is not a propaganda organ but a sophisticated monthly which discusses questions of the day with frankness, balance and erudition.

It frequently carries articles of interest to colored Americans and its October number carries two. One is "The Lessons of the Peekskill Riots: What Happened and Why" by James Rorty and Winifred Raushenbush.

Mr. Schuyler

The other is "Two Social Scientists View 'No Way Out'" by Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites. Both are excellent and come as a breath of fresh air after the miasmi of propaganda.

* * *

AFTER READING THESE two masterly analyses by writers with no axe to grind, one is depressed by the recollection that almost without exception Negro newspapers, magazines and assorted writers and "intellectuals" went overboard for the Communist version of the Peekskill imbroglios and for the press agents' extravagances about "No Way Out."

The Rorty-Raushenbush study runs through fifteen pages and is the most painstaking and balanced account yet written. Their findings are as much at variance with the accounts in the Negro, "liberal" and Communist press as anything could be because these investigators were seeking the truth while the others were simply feeding their readers vicious propaganda.

A case in point is the "report" of the American Civil Liberties Union which was as biased as if written in the Kremlin.

* * *

THE WRITERS FIND that the Ku Klux Klan had nothing to do with the riots at all; that there was little anti-Negro or anti-Jewish sentiment in the community, except insofar as these elements were identified with the Communists; that the report of the Westchester County grand jury was quite fair and balanced in its judgments "and liberal in its recommendations"; and that, as The Courier pointed out editorially, the riots were intentionally provoked by Communists (using Robeson as a stooge) as a dress rehearsal, for the first time in America, of the sort of mobbism they have used all over the world as a prelude to revolution. Here at last are the facts.

As soon as I saw a preview of "No Way Out" I was convinced that it was actually an anti-Negro film and the most dangerous of the lot. The fact that most reviewers thought otherwise disturbed me not at all.

Admittedly I was depressed, although not surprised, to find the NAACP chortling with satisfaction over it. What does the Wolfenstein-Leites study find? It finds what I found and stated in this column.

* * *

THUS, "CERTAIN NEGATIVE elements begin to appear that might well counteract, **on a deeper level**, the good intentions of the moviemakers . . . While the verbal explanation . . . indicates that the Negro doctor is innocent, what we **see** tends to create an opposite impression . . . What we see is that an inexperienced, insecure Negro doctor, whose procedure looks dubious to everyone present, treats a man with a seemingly minor injury in such a way that he immediately dies . . . what we see confirms the fantasy of the Negro as a killer, and the emotional impact of this way remain though it is explained away as a false appearance."

As to the riot scene: it "contains images which tend to confirm the fantasy of the Negro as a dangerous attacker . . . At the moment when the Negroes rush in, we see standing beside the brutal bully . . . a clean-cut young girl **who does not appear before or after in the film.**"

Another white girl is shown screaming in close-up but has no other part in the picture. Say the writers, "These two images would seem very likely to evoke the fantasy of 'white womanhood' assaulted by 'bestial Negroes.' If the whites had been shown striking the first blow, the position of the Negroes would probably have seemed stronger." Exactly the point I made.

* * *

THEY CONTINUE "WHERE the typical white hero meets his difficulties self-reliantly and fights alone for safety, the Negro is here dependent on others to fight his battles.

"The xery title of the film, extremely puzzling in terms of the plot, expresses the basic ambiguity; though the Negro-hater is supposed to be defeated and the falsely accused Negro saved and vindicated, the title seems to state a deeper belief and draw a contrary 'moral': there is no way out." The usual Communist conclusion!

In brief, **"No Way Out"** is defeatist, anti-Negro propaganda, conjuring up all the stereotypes and fantasies out of the hateful past, and is thus essentially of the same breed as **"The Birth of a Nation."** What irony that some of our "best" minds were ecstatic in their endorsements!

white criminal escapes, lures the Negro to the home of the white doctor who got the Negro on the staff, and shoots him. The Negro doctor survives and the white criminal dies, but not before learning that the Negro did not kill his brother.

* * *

ON ANY OTHER theme this would be branded as hack stuff, sheer catch-penny hokum. White doctors are given a clean bill of health, being represented as agreeable to a Negro associate whereas everybody knows it is they and not white patients who have kept Negro doctors out of hospitals.

It certainly does not help Negroes to show them leading a mob against whites in a white neighborhood, thus confirming all Ku Klux Klan propaganda, aside from never having happened to my knowledge. Besides, bias is shown in portraying the Negroes sympathetically while the poor whites, with one exception, are shown as Neanderthals. If this is the best Hollywood can do, let's have no more of such pictures. God save us from our "friends."

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

THE POWER OF THE BOYCOTT

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

LAST week here there was mention of the successful campaign launched by the now-deceased **Chicago Whip** of Messrs. Bibb and MacNeal in the 1930's to force employment of Negroes through boycotting and picketing. Similar campaigns carried on elsewhere following the example of the militant Chicago sheet did much to educate the public on fair employment practices long before that expression became popular and something of a politcal football.

Mr. Schuyler

Laws are all right but they work slowly in America and much depends upon who is administering and interpreting them. Civil rights for all have been in the Federal and the state constitutions and laws for a long time but too often were honored in the breach. The anti-trust laws are used against corporations operating in restraint of trade but not labor unions who also restrain trade. The Taft-Hartley Law which sought to break this labor monopoly (and this has been wildly libeled by frightened labor leaders) is ignored, bypassed and stymied by the Administration itself because it needs the votes of labor to stay in office.

* * *

WHILE THE BOYCOTT is no panacea or cure-all for economic ills, it has frequently boomeranged or been ineffectve (as witness the Jews' economic boycott against the Hitler regime); it has often been more immediately effective than legislation, and its psychological value on all concerned is great. However, like Gandhi, leaders must be wise enough to know when to call it off. Nehru, a less shrewd politician than Gandhi, coud never understand why the Mahatma suddenly called off non-cooperation and civil disobedience campaigns when he did. The reason was that Gandhi uncannily sensed when it was expedient to turn on or shut off the heat. The life of a propaganda drive is like that of an animal organism: it is born, grows to vigorous maturity, declines and dies. Wise leaders are canny enough not to keep parading a corpse. Battles, whether psychological or economic, are not won by zombies.

* * *

IT OCCURS TO me however that a national "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign might get a whole lot of results. There are numerous nationally advertised commodities whose manufacturers either do not employ Negroes or who do so only in token number or only in certain lowly categories.

I know of breweries and distilleries that have no colored employes except a few salesmen in Negro districts, and yet their beers and whiskies are the most popular among colored patrons and enjoy tremendous sales. I am sure that if these concerns heard or were told that Negroes were about to boycott their products because of non-employment of colored workers in their plants, they would lose no time in finding some capable Negroes to hire.

There are numerous makers of household furnishing and appliances widely purchased by Negro housewives who have never seen fit to hire Negroes save an occasional janitor, cafeteria cook or toilet room attendant. The threat of a boycott would make them jump like a yokel sitting on a country stove.

* * *

HERE ARE ONLY two classes of goods but one could cite hundreds more. Thanks to the Negro newspapers, white advertisers now know all about the vast Negro market, and can therefore better appreciate what antagonism of this market can mean in lowered sales and profits. What is needed, of course, is initial gathering of information about which of these firms do or do not employ Negroes, and to what extent. Then the Negro newspapers and the protest organizations can do the rest.

It is not only some businesses that are at fault but also some snooty labor unions. In the latter case legal suits could well be instituted charging them with violating the anti-trust law by barring Negroes from membership and thus from working even though the bosses be willing. What about trying this while awaiting the civil rights utopia?

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Negroes' Prosperity in Rural South Tokens a New Day

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

FROM Ross W. Newsome Sr., state agent of the Virginia Agricultural Extension Service of the Virginia State College, comes a report of a recent annual meeting of the State Agricultural Advisory Board in King and Queen County, which is most enlightening.

There were 130 delegates present of which 112 were members of the County advisory boards, seventy-four were members of community clubs, forty-one were members of Home Demonstration Clubs; eighty-one were engaged in a community project this year, and eighty-two assisted 4-H Club members in their neighborhoods. Some sixty-odd delegates reported having active 4-H committees on the county advisory board.

Mr. Schuyler

These 130 delegates owned ninety-one farms totaling 8,161 acres. Forty-four of them had soil and water conservation plans for their farms. The normal value of their holdings was $738,585, which included, aside from the land, 119 beef animals, 197 milk cows, 1,041 hogs, 22,993 broilers, 3,517 laying hens, and 2,859 pullets valued at $114,454.45. This doesn't sound so bad for 130 "oppressed" and "persecuted" rural Negroes in the Old Dominion.

FIFTY-THREE OF THESE delegates had running water in their homes, thirty-eight of these homes having baths with running water, and eighty-six having sanitary toilets. Fifty-two had major improvements or repairs to their homes, forty-two improved storage space in their homes, ninety-three had electric lights and forty-one had telephones.

Fifty-nine had painted their homes with two coats of paint during the past five years. Twenty-seven new homes were built and thirty-eight remodeled. Total cost of improvement and repairs was $29,994.82.

Forty-eight had bought labor-saving equipment amounting to $20,003.33, while the value of farm tools owned by the delegates was $93,051.05. Total value of all farms, homes, livestock, poultry and farm tools was $946,090.50.

Ninety-three had their property properly insured against fire.

HERE IS A picture of Negro rural property which could be duplicated in every Southern state.

Add to this the phenomenally high proportion of Negro home ownership in the South, the 80 per cent school attendance totalling two and one-quarter million, the $129,000,000 school plant valuation and the fifty-odd thousand successful businesses, and we see an aspect of Negro life in Dixie which is too rarely publicized perhaps because it is not journalistically sensational.

The public has been given such one-sided account of Negro life in the South that statement of the simple truth is often denounced as appeasement by those who live by the merchanting of grief. Sometimes I think there is an appreciable number of people who do not want to hear

anything commendable about Southern life because of the legalized racial segregation and the inevitable discrimination attending it.

* * *

AND YET I think it is as essential to hear the good as it is the bad news. Certainly it is a great credit to the Negroes that they have accomplished so much in the face of handicaps; and at the same time it indicates that the "reign of terror" against Negroes in the South is very largely mythical, as I have pointed out many times before.

In general, men's thinking is based on what has passed, and only on that part of history which has been most widely publicized. Few possess the ability to digest current events and arrive at balanced conclusions.

So very often those who talk about the South and the Negro are speaking in terms of 1910, 1920, 1930 or 1940 rather than 1950. In other words, they are discussing a South that is practically dead; becoming incandescent over conditions that are conspicuous by their absence today and will soon be gone forever.

* * *

BECAUSE ELEVEN MILLION of our people are living there and will remain, we should all feel gratified that in the main they are doing so well and that the gap between the whites and Negroes is so rapidly narrowing to a thin crack.

Soon everything we have inveighed against (quite justly) will be gone. There are plenty of signs that it is going fast.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

The Problem of the Caribbean Is Population; More Is Sought

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier—The Editors.)

THE BIGGEST problem of the Caribbean islands is population. There are few places in the West Indies that are not greatly overcrowded, and since all of the islands are agricultural this makes the problem of increasing population more acute. Modern agriculture requires no more people, and often less, than it did many years ago. So the surplus population flows into the cities where there are no industries to speak of and where there is not enough tax money to provide "made" work.

Mr. Schuyler

At the same time the increasingly powerful labor unions are demanding more and more money in order to meet the growing cost of living, and there is a widespread demand for more and better educational facilities, which also cost money; to say nothing of the loud and justified outcry for more and better housing.

The island governments are unable to cope with this knotty problem and the "home" governments (England and France) are themselves too impoverished to do much if anything. While wages are microscopic with few people getting more than $15 a week all prices except local food equal those in the U. S. A.

* * *

SOME IDEA OF the congestion may be gleaned from the figures. The number of persons per square mile in Alabama is about fifty and in our most thickly populated state Rhode Island (almost wholly industrial) is 668.

Trinidad which does have the advantage of oil wells and refineries, but is largely agricultural and mountainous, has 305 persons per square mile. The Leeward Islands which comprise the British Virgin Islands, St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, Barbados, Antigua and Montserrat, total 422 square miles, or less than half the area of Rhode Island, have 109,000 population between them, or around 260 persons per square mile.

They are entirely agricultural, with the result that the people are crowded in slums filthier and more congested than those of any American city.

* * *

THE WINDWARD ISLANDS of Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Dominica with a total area of 820 square miles have an aggregate population of 266,817, or 326 per square mile. They are also wholly agricultural and extremely mountainous to boot.

Jamaica, also without industries worthy of mention, has 280 people to the square mile, and Puerto Rico, which is slightly smaller and equally mountainous and agricultural, has 637 people to the square mile. Barbados, sometimes called "Little England" (and for what reason is difficult to discern) is only 166 square miles with a total population of 192,841, or 1,162 persons to a square mile, the greatest congestion on earth.

Like the others it is almost wholly agricultural, with the people packed in ramshackle cubicles in places that cannot be cultivated. It is almost as bad in the French islands of Martinque and Guadeloupe which have respectively 700 and 500 people per square mile. Haiti has 300 to the square mile.

* * *

OBVIOUSLY THE SOLUTION is emigration but to where? Puerto Ricans, being U. S. citizens, can emigrate to the U. S. A. . . . if they have the boat or plane fare, but nobody wants the other islanders. Nearby Venezuela, Colombia and Brazil profess no color line and they badly need immigrants but they don't want Caribbean blacks.

They are seeking immigrants from Italy, Spain and Portugal, and officials told me they preferred them simply because they were of Latin culture. But they don't want Haitians or French West Indians who are also of Latin culture and it is almost impossible for these people to get in temporarily or permanently.

Brazil has recently made a deal with Italy to take some land-hungry peasants and has encouraged Portuguese, Spaniards, Germans and Japanese to settle there in the past. Many European refugees have settled there since the war, but there is no room for Caribbean blacks.

* * *

VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA and Brazil have plenty of blacks and colored people (who are little better off than the West Indians, incidentally), and privately the ruling class admits that they want no more. Their desire is to increase the white population although they swear they have no color prejudice.

The three Guianas (British, Dutch and French) are extremely under-populated and their wide open spaces could accommodate the entire surplus population of the Antilles but there the problem is woeful lack of transportation and facilities to take care of even a small number of immigrants.

So it looks like it will be a long time, if ever, before the acute Caribbean population problem is solved.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

A Master's Wage Without a Master's Skill

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

THE whooping and hollering for pay increases for school teachers and college professors proceeds apace. New York City has recently been disgraced by the spectacle of over 20,000 high school students resorting to hooligan-like demonstrations around the City Hall in support of their teachers' drive to put a further bite on the long-suffering taxpayers. Many American communities are spending the larger part of their budgets for higher pay for teachers, and bigger and better buildings with all the conveniences of country clubs.

Mr. Schuyler

Every state now bears a tremendous burden of taxes for so-called public education to the college and university level, and of course this is reflected in the soaring cost of living. Where it will end nobody knows because there is now a general idea that everybody should have a college degree, preferably at public expense. Recently a New York State official was damned because he criticized the popular notion that everybody has a right to free schooling as long as he chooses to loaf in a classroom.

* * *

FOR THE PAST forty years there has been a drive on the part of the teachers to increase the number of teaching jobs and to boost their salaries to enable them to live in the style to which they aspire regardless of the labor market or their worth to the community. They have plugged for and won legislation which has guaranteed security whether or not merited and made more teaching jobs available.

In most states they and their organizations have upped the age limit for compulsory education (or rather, schooling) and at the same time managed to cut the size of classes from seventy and eighty pupils to thirty or thirty-five. It is of a piece with certain labor monopolies which force consumers to pay three or four times as much for less service, as in the case of bricklayers who are restricted to laying 700 or 800 bricks a day when they could lay 2,000.

* * *

THERE COULD BE no valid objection to these educational burdens on the taxpayers if the results justified the expenditures. Unfortunately this is not the case if one is to judge by the output of these educational department stores. There are more literate and "educated" people than ever before in our history but they do not think as clearly and are less capable than they were forty or fifty years ago. We are paying more for a poorer product. The famed Pennsylvania Report of some years back showed that the grammar school graduates were smarter than those leaving the high schools, and the high school graduates smarter than those who were turned out by the colleges. There is no reason to suppose that conditions in other states were any different.

We have a vast horde of young people leaving school who do not know how to spell, who are ignorant of geography and know less about history. The current drive to emphasize the teaching of current events indicates that there is a depressing amount of ignorance in that direction. As a result charlatans, dead beats and demagogues never had it so good. Advertising techniques and political propaganda indicate a contemptuous understanding of mob imbecility. An intelligent presentation is properly regarded as naive.

* * *

BACK IN FEBRUARY Dean Marion R Trabue of the Pennsylvania State College of Education asserted that most professors were ill-prepared for their tasks; that only 10 per cent were prepared to do an adequate teaching job. He charged that our colleges train men and women to be research workers rather than teachers, and accordingly the students suffer.

In April 29 issue of Colliers, Benjamin H. Namm, Brooklyn, N. Y., business man, charged that our schools and colleges are doing an inadequate or perverted job of teaching the facts of economics. He cited the recent report of the Joint Council of Economic Education that the schools have failed to give adequate instruction in economics, and are teaching straight or adulterated totalitarianism which is the new slavery. As a result most of the graduates are advocates of government "welfare" and centralized control which simply set up the people for serfdom under the whip of demagogues. No wonder so many colleges and universities are hotbeds of communistic instruction, whether or not these professors are party members.

* * *

SO-CALLED EDUCATION is being spread too thin. In the zeal to educate everybody, those capable of education are grossly neglected. For every ten special schools for morons and cretins, there is scarcely one for the exceptional child who is instructable.

Recently the Rev. Dr. Bernard Iddings Bell of Chicago pointed out, saying: "Students today know almost nothing about knowledge of the past or examination of the present" and American education offers "medication without sound diagnosis." He urged that the schools today, especially secondary schools, must select the few students with superior intelligence and train them for "interpretative leadership." He asserted that present high schools neglect to teach the mechanics of thought and are "playgrounds, not schools . . . They promise heaven without probation and a master's wage without a master's skill."

* * *

ANOTHER EDUCATOR of Chicago, Miss Mary Courtenay, who spoke on the gifted child, asserted "There is no bureau, curriculum, no provision made for the gifted child." Dr. Paul A. Witty of Northwestern University held that the nation was wasting its greatest human resources by failing to produce suitable training for its gifted youth. Said he, "The gifted child is the neglected child." We are, in short, wasting time and money on dolts who loaf in class until they are 18 years old, holding back those capable of contributing something to the nation.

The educational system has grown costlier but is turning out a worse product and more numerously. It might be an innovation to pay teachers on a piecework basis. This would encourage the capable minority and thus lift the intellectual level which is now scraping bottom.

The WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, whose indefensible strike is crippling travel and commerce over most of the country is one of those lily-white unions which strictly bar Negroes, so no sympathy should be wasted there. Incidentally, why doesn't Mr. Truman's monopoly hunters bring suit against the Big Four railroad unions which will not allow Negroes to join?

* * *

THE STRUGGLE inside the NAACP bureaucracy continues despite last week's action of the directors. Feelings are deep and burning, and there is more intrigue than one could find in an Oriental court. We have not seen the end of this, regardless of surface manifestations. It is a bad example for the other Negroes.

* * *

Congressman Powell, who has never ignored the signs of the times, has abandoned the Commie-front American Labor party and is now safe in the arms of Tammany Hall. The handsome Representative is currently quarreling with the left-wing United Electrical Workers because its newspaper "falsified" his remarks, quoting him as saying that the Truman crowd had ordered Congressional cohorts to stop fighting for a real FEPC. Ah, well! Politics!

* * *

HORSE FEATHERS from high places! Connecticut's Senator Benton says the civil

rights problems here are shaking the foundations of international good-will toward the U. S. because they are providing fuel for Russian propaganda mills. This would be interesting if it were only true. What lowers a nation's prestige is not its internal problems but its lack of external power. There is not a bit of evidence to the contrary throughout history.

* * *

Mob action leading to the resignation of Haiti's president was in the banana republic tradition. M. Estime inaugurated many reforms but he got too big for his breeches and maneuvered for an extension of power contrary to the Constitution.

That did it. Well, anyhow, he is sufficiently well heeled to be able to enjoy his exile in Paris.

South Africa is rapidly becoming Americanized. She is about to adopt a rigid racial separation law, and the blacks will not be on top. Indeed, they are already so far down that one wonders how any law could make them any worse off. Actually the proposed law is aimed at the quarter million East Indians who threaten white business. Too bad the Japs were not able to last long enough to invade the African sub-continent!

Ironically, Joe Louis was barred from one of the best hotels in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and yet was welcomed in one of the best in Sao Paulo just 500 miles away. The former city is supposed to be racially liberal while the latter has the reputation of being racially reactionary. This teaches one not to generalize.

Biggest accomplishment in Haiti is the successful conclusion of the eight-year campaign against the contagious disease of yaws which afflicted most of the population. The syphillis like disease has been almost completely eradicated.

Sign of these more liberal times was the advocacy at the sixteenth biennial Nursing Convention in San Francisco last week that Negro Nurses groups enjoy closer fraternity with white nurses' groups. The American Nurses Assn. voted full participation of Negroes in all its activities, and since 1946 eight Southern state groups have voted to admit Negroes. Compare this with just a few years back

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The WORLD TODAY

Courier

By George S. Schuyler

Sat. 3-11-50

Catholic Scholarships for Negroes, Inc., which now has thirty-eight Negro students on its roles, announces that it is trying to get fifty for the opening of the September school term. It started helping five colored students to go to college in the 1947-'48 school year. Students aided are studying pharmacy, music, social work, education and medicine. This is interracial justice in concrete form.

A KU KLUX KLAN member of Talladega, Ala., committed suicide last week after shooting a man in a Klux kidnap. Remorse, perhaps. Let us hope this starts a trend!

• • •

Clashes between police and Negroes continue in and around Johannesburg, South Africa's big gold and diamond metropolis. Police are pretending that the fighting is really between rival native factions, but the facts are that these disorders are the beginning of revolution in the South African slave pen. Unfortunately the natives have only their numbers, and that's not enough. Nevertheless, the white rulers are getting panicky.

• • •

WITH THE FIRESTONE plantation under martial law, Liberia is requesting the U.S.A. to supply a military adviser to train her army, at Liberia's expense. Behind the troubles in Liberia is not "imperialist exploitation," but the Red hand of Joe Stalin. Communist agents have been busy throughout Africa. The cold war has reached the hot regions.

• • •

Student delegates from seventeen Northeastern colleges have launched a new organization to promote interracial and interfaith activities which will get busy in the spring. They want to set up intergroup living units. These youngsters say, "We want to become examples of democracy in action."

Courier

AGAIN the United Nations is shadow boxing with the question of slave labor. Seems like there's slave labor in Asia, Africa, America and other places beside Soviet Russia. That's too hot for the moribund UN to handle, even if it were able, which it is not. What a fraud!

Sat. 3-11-50

Indians rush in where Americans fear to tread! The Indian parliament has just passed a bill giving the government sweeping powers of arrest, and permitting it to jail anybody for a year whose activities prejudice national defense. This means Communists, of course. Over here we let them do their wrecking and undermining on the ground that they have a "right" to carry on their nefarious activities. The Indians know better.

• • •

NAACP is on the United Cigar-Whalen Corporation because it refuses restaurant service to colored people in its store in the Longfellow Building in Washington, D. C., which also houses Government institutions hiring Negro workers. Maybe a nationwide boycott by Negroes of all United Cigar stores for a week or so might make this firm straighten up and fly right.

• • •

It will be news to many U. S. taxpayers that this Government is spending a billion dollars a year to build up so-called primitive or backward areas. Why not spend that money in some of our backward areas here at home? A billion dollars would clean out a whole lot of slums.

The WORLD TODAY

Courier

Sat. 3-18-50

By George S. Schuyler

New York closed in a little more on color discrimination last week when its State Senate passed a bill barring color discrimination in quasi-public housing, like the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's Stuyvesant Town. Bias has been barred already from public housing projects there. Similar measures will have to be enacted in other states if jim-crow housing is to be abolished. The projects partially financed by taxes are worst than those wholly supported by the public, when it comes to barring Negro tenants.

• • •

A BILL the U. S. Senate should pass is House Joint Resolution 238 which extends naturalization to aliens legally admitted, permanent residents of the U. S., without denial due to race or national origin. It is designed to do justice to 90,000 Japanese-Americans now barred from citizenship although many of their sons fought for Uncle Sam in World War II. The House passed the resolution unanimously. It is now up to the Senate. Negro organizations should throw their weight for this even though they are not directly concerned. The less bias the better.

Courier

The Georgia Warm Springs Foundation reports that as of the year ending Sept. 30, it had treated 889 polio victims from forty states and nineteen foreign countries. Thanks to the late President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, colored sufferers are barred from this institution, although patients from nineteen white foreign countries are welcome. When is a citizen not a citizen? Yep, that's right!

Sat. 3-18-50

WATCH THE SENATE "curve" on those House-approved bills granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii. Happens that the majority of the citizens of both territories are not Caucasians, and many solons feel that the less colored folks in Congress, the better. You know how it is!

• • •

Now that the New York State Court of Appeals has upheld the Feinburg Law barring Communists from holding down jobs as public school teachers, look for quite a few colored teachers to be hunting other jobs in the Empire State. Of course they will howl "discrimination" and "persecution" and accuse educational authorities of "witch hunting." Witch hunting is justified when there are so many witches to hunt!

3-18-50

COMMISSION for Catholic Missions Among Colored People and Indians reports Negro Catholics have increased 160 per cent in the past fifty years, while total number of Negroes has increased only 70 per cent. There are now 380,000 colored Catholics. of 438 priests working among Negroes, only thirty are colored; of 2,000 nuns in colored work, only 400 are colored. Nearly 68,000 pupils are taught in 312 parochial schools. There are now numerous hospitals, clinics and social welfare agencies, none of which existed in 1900. During the last twenty years the Catholic Church has been effectively fighting jim crow and cleaning its own house the while. There's much to be done.

• • •

The sheriff of Dade County, Georgia, and his deputy have been found guilty of whipping Negroes and will soon be sentenced. The jury that convicted them was composed of Georgia white folk. That is a measure of the distance justice has traveled in the Empire State of the South.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Schuyler Finds Amazing Transformation at Booker T. Washington's Birthplace

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

S. J. PHILLIPS of Booker T. Washington Birthplace, Va., is a good-looking dark, middle-aged Negro who not only believes in the great American educator's philosophy of skilled industrial and business schooling, and "letting down your bucket where you are," but he is definitely doing something to put that philosophy into practice.

Mr. Schuyler

Before I met Mr. Phillips early this month, I only knew him by name and newspaper reports, and I had only the haziest notion where Booker Washington's birthplace was when I accepted his invitation to attend the memorial services there. I knew that he had promoted the Booker T. Washington memorial half dollar, but I was astounded to learn that this, the fifty-first special coin of its kind, had sold more than all of the other fifty authorized by Congress! Indeed, I learned it had sold twice as many, selling for $1 each, and it is still selling. I should think every Negro in the United States would want to own at least one of these coins, and obviously hundreds of thousands do.

* * *

IT IS NOT too easy to get to Booker T. Washington's Birthplace. Going to Roanoke by airplane, train or bus, it is necessary to motor some twenty miles over hill and dale through some mighty picturesque country before the isolated place near Rocky Mount, Va., is reached. It is a beautiful ride on a clear day as Sunday, April 2, was.

I expected to find the log cabin where the great man was born whose bust now stands in the Hall of Fame, but the avenue lined with American flags, the gleaming new buildings, the scores of parked cars from all over the region and the hundreds of visitors in holiday mood were more than I had bargained for.

Benches were arranged for the outdoor ceremonies and there was a loudspeaker system. A new two-story, modern brick building, for dormitories and recreation and draped with flags, was dedicated later that afternoon. There was the log cabin birthplace of the big man, draped with bunting and hung inside with mottos; and alongside it was the old well, now glorified with cement, stone work and a large tin bucket above which the well-known legend read, "Let Down Your Bucket Where You Are." In the bottom of the bucket, covered by two inches of water, were many coins tossed in by admiring visitors. I learned that during 1949, over $300 was contributed in that manner.

* * *

IT WAS EVIDENT soon that this memorial to a man who gave his country and the world a new concept of mass education was something more than a refurbished log cabin and a glorified well. This 600 acres of land had been bought from the white owners for $50,000. Planted acres number 250, while thirty acres are given over to orchards. In addition there are two tractors, four trucks, two station wagons, twelve automobiles, a couple of cows, some three dozen hogs, over 2,000 chickens, two poultry houses of the most modern design, a residence cleverly converted from an old barn, six tobacco barns, two other barns, a large new residence, an office building and the Birthplace's own postoffice with an attractive young brown postmistress. When I was there the place was stacked with bags of mail incoming and outgoing. I hadn't known that there was a postoffice called Booker Washington Birthplace, Va.

In addition to all this, there is a night school, teaching trades, operated for the benefit of ambitious students from the surrounding countryside.

Unlike many rural communities, this one boasts electric lights and hot and cold running water.

All this has been accomplished since World War II.

* * *

NEXT DAY WE drove into Roanoke to the Booker T. Washington Memorial Trades School which is located in four different buildings rented for the purpose. It was established by Mr. Phillips Sept. 4, 1950, after the surmounting of various obstacles not the least of which was the opposition of some jealous Negroes. This school, whose 222 students are largely ex-service men, teaches bricklaying, carpentry, radio and television, beauty culture and business skills. It is significant that already seventeen graduates in bricklaying and beauty culture have secured jobs.

Whether teaching motor mechanics, typing or cabinet making, the young instructors seem to know their business. The work rooms were busy as beehives and yet everything was clean and orderly. I noted that the latest machinery and equipment was in use.

* * *

WELL, IT ALL adds up to something really inspiring, and it is a great credit to a dynamic man like S. J. Phillips and his devoted workers that all of this has been accomplished during a period when many people were wagging their heads and viewing the future with alarm.

Of course, there are some shallow pates who will say that Booker Washington's philosophy was good at a certain period, but is now dead. However, artisans and farmers who are well trained will always be in demand and will never know privation. One reason why the Negro has been "last to be hired and first to be fired" is because so few Negroes could do anything well that the economy wanted done. If there were a big group of highly skilled Negro craftsmen no one will argue that we would not be better off.

Every person should be highly skilled in at least one craft. Our great difficulty today, as in the past, is that we have tens of thousands of Negro so-called workers, urban and rural, who really do not know how to do anything well, except moan for "security" and Government freebies. Many cannot even shine shoes or do domestic work properly. How the picture would change if we had a few hundred more consecrated men like far-sighted S. J. Phillips of Booker Washington Birthplace, Va.!

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Walter White Gets on a Very Shaky Limb

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier —The Editors).

IN the April 1 issue of our famed contemporary, The Chicago Defender, my old and esteemed friend, Walter White, gets out on a very shaky limb trying to run interference for the State Department Red gang and other fellow travelers who have recently been named by Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin. Walter characterizes these revelations as "smearing," thereby revealing an astounding lack of information for one usually so well informed. One would think that Dean Acheson, Owen Lattimore, Philip Jessup and the rest had rendered some yeoman service to the NAACP. Yet, so far as I can recall, neither the State Department nor the entire Democratic Administration has done anything for the Negro or the NAACP except give them the old run-around. If it were not so pathetic it would be laughable, the way presumably mature Negroes have swallowed the civil rights hokum of Truman and Company.

Mr. Schuyler

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WALTER ACCUSES McCARTHY of lacking moral courage because he named former Judge Kenyon as consorting with fellow travelers and belonging to numerous organizations listed as subversive. The Senator was telling only the truth. He did not accuse the 62-year-old judge of being a Communist, but he did point out that she was or had been a member of numerous organizations which either the Department of Justice or the Committee of Congress has listed as subversive. It is incredible that an informed, educated woman should join so many subversive outfits and not know the score. This would be "innocence" to the point of cretinism.

It is evident from Walter's reference to Ambassador Philip Jessup and Owen Lattimore being "besmirched" by McCarthy that the learned NAACP head is unaware of the ramifications of the celebrated Amerisia case where hundreds of top secret State Department documents were discovered in that magazine's files, and among those nabbed (although later acquitted) was John Stewart Service of the State Department who was closely associated with that publication financed by a known Communist and with only 1,700 circulation. Lattimore was a member of Amerasia's editorial board. Walter is also apparently unaware of the role of the Institute for Public Relations and its "angel" Frederick V. Field, a man dubbed a Communist party member by Senator Mundt in "Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage in the United States Government," second section, Eightieth Congress. It just happens that both Jessup and Lattimore were closely associated with the Institute which fostered policies favorable to Red China (Moscow, that is) and unfavorable to the interests of the U. S. A. Really, Walter ought to read more. I can suggest a dozen government documents dealing with Communist infiltration and espionage in the Government which would enlighten him.

* * *

WALTER OBLIQUELY RUNS interference for Paul Robeson who was recently (and properly) barred from Mrs. Roosevelt's television program. Just last week John J. Huber of Mount Vernon, N. Y., who for ten years was an FBI undercover informant masquerading as a Communist party member, stated concerning another Red front, the Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy, that "I was present when the organization was formed by Frederick Vanderbilt Field. It is a Communist-front organization and Mr. Field is a party member." This is the same Field who helps direct the Institute for Pacific Relations with which Jessup and Lattimore have been associated. Mr. Huber flatly asserted that Paul Robeson, Doxie Wilkerson, Corliss Lamont and Howard Fast also hold Communist party cards. This long-time FBI undercover agent should know. Incidentally, he also added the name of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, which is no surprise to anybody who can read, see and hear intelligently. The statements were made in the offices of the New York Bar Association, if Walter is curious.

* * *

BROTHER WHITE DOES America a disservice when he speaks of the "technique of the McCarthy school of smearing of everybody who isn't a reactionary." This cry of "reactionary" at everybody who tries to expose the plotting and spying of those bent on betraying America is really a vicious smear. Almost every charge made by us folks of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Red Baiters has been borne out. It has been proved that both the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations were shot through with fellow travelers, Communists, spies, traitors and homosexuals. It has been proved that these people stole highly secret documents from the State Department and used this information against this country. It has been proved that Dean Acheson was told by Adolph A. Berle in 1939 that Hiss was a member of a Communist apparatus, but did nothing about it although Russia at that time was an ally of Germany, and the U. S. was pursuing an anti-Hitler policy. It has been proved that a lot of "liberals" who were ardent New Dealers fighting to establish totalitarianism in this country under the guise of "saving" it from capitalism, belong to organizations which have been proved to be subversive, or did before they got scared and rushed to the A. D. A.

* * *

IF ANYBODY IS reactionary it is the totalitarians who advocate Planned Economy with Government control of everything on a promise of cradle-to-grave security. Any such a society would be a slave society—and we got rid of slavery when Lee surrendered to Grant. I have yet to hear any intelligent or indignant criticism of this menace from the lips of my estimable friend, Walter White, although experience shows that so-called minorities are the worst sufferers under planned economies: i.e., communism. And what the Negroes (whom Mr. White leads) would suffer under such a system would make the strafing of the Jewish people under Russian socialism seem mild by comparison

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

A Plot Against Roy Wilkins

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

MY emissaries inform me that the struggle within the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People continues and that the chief target seems to be Acting Secretary Roy Wilkins, the senior executive next to the absent Walter White. The immediate cause of rancor toward Roy Wilkins was his action in shutting out the Communist wreckers from the recent Washington, D. C., civil rights demonstration. The Reds had planned to infiltrate and take over the whole affair but due to Wilkins' stand (ably assisted by Willard Townsend of the CIO and other renowned and respected Red baiters) the Kremlin boys and their stooges were kept out as delegates except for the few already prominent in the NAACP.

Mr. Schuyler

Wilkins is also persona non grata in the opinion of many people because of his unique record among NAACP executives of never having joined or been identified with a Communist front, nor hobnobbed with the fellow traveler clique which usually operates under the smoke screen of "liberal." This is truly amazing since apparently the rarest Americans are those who have never belonged to a Red "cover" organization or been sucked into a "front" outfit under the mistaken notion that they were "aiding democracy."

* * *

WILKINS HAS BEEN a national executive of the NAACP since 1930. For several years before that he sparkplugged NAACP drives in Kansas City, Mo., and Minneapolis, Minn. He has been identified with the organization in one way or the other for nearly three-fourths of its existence. Before moving to the National Association's New York headquarters, he was for years associated with C. A. Franklin and Joseph LaCour in the Kansas City Call, of which he was city editor. Wilkins was one of the first, if not the first working Negro newspaperman to graduate from an outstanding school of journalism, the University of Minnesota, where at one time he edited the university daily newspaper undoubtedly a Negro "first."

When The Messenger magazine (1916-1928) used to select the best editorials monthly appearing in the Negro press, those written by Roy Wilkins won on several occasions.

Shortly after coming to New York, Roy Wilkins was assigned to "aid" Dr. DuBois in editing The Crisis, NAACP magazine, and did so until recently when James W. Ivy was made acting editor.

* * *

SINCE HERBERT J. SELIGMAN quit the NAACP as publicity director around about the beginning of the Roosevelt disaster, there has been a succession of alleged publicity men and women rattling around in his shoes and without notable distinction, except as salary drawers, until Henry Lee Moon came. During that long period it was Roy Wilkins who kept this department from becoming utterly ridiculous. Indeed, for ten years after Seligman left, Wilkins practically ran this department in addition to his work as assistant secretary, and additionally directed press relations at the annual conferences, and superintended all of the NAACP publications.

This sort of hard, administrative work is not as spectacular as jumping around the country emitting showers of platitudes and cliches, saving the race with constant repetition of the singular personal pronoun and licking the boots of great and near-great bureaucrats; but if this essential executive work is not done, the grandstanders have no platform from which to shout their banalities. It deserves Spingarn Medals but never gets them.

* * *

THE STRATEGY OF the dissident elements and borers-from-within inside the NAACP is to keep up turmoil and intrigue until the impression is created that this condition is inseparably associated with the fact that Mr. Wilkins is the head of the organization. These people know very well that as long as Roy Wilkins heads the NAACP the Reds, fellow travelers and 'too-liberals,' intent on chasing every Kremlin will-o-the-wisp (and carrying the Negroes along with them) will get short shrift.

Wilkins knows the Bolsheviks from the old Scottsboro days when they stole the case from under the noses of the NAACP leadership and ballyhooed it into a million-dollar bonanza from which only they profited. The Scottsboro case was to the Communist party what Prohibition was to Crime, Inc., furnishing the pecuniary sinews of class war and keeping the Comrades in victuals until the Roosevelt racket moved into Washington, FDR recognized the Soviet camorra and we began sliding down the toboggan to national obliteration.

At that time when the Reds and their stooges were out to destroy rather than capture the NAACP, Roy Wilkins was in the thick of the fight. After the Reds had milked the racket dry and cynically double-crossed and abandoned the boys to Ku Klux justice, it was Wilkins who was foremost in the hard work of trying to get these unfortunate youths out of prison and staking them after they emerged. This was during the five or six years before Roosevelt threw us into World War II, when the NAACP treasury was emptier than a Communist's oath of allegiance.

* * *

FOR THOSE WHO have designs to hitch the Negroes' largest and most influential organization to the chariot of Stalin abroad and totalitarianism at home, it would be a ten-strike if Roy Wilkins could be eliminated or at least made less powerful. He is immune to their blandishments and hep to their booby traps, and thus an enemy to be destroyed. I don't think the plot will succeed if the masses of NAACP members know the score. This piece is to help enlighten them.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

It's Time to Put Our Money Where Our Mouths Have Been

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier — The Editors)

THE whooping and howling about the barring of Negroes from "white" theatres and restaurants in Washington, D. C., have temporarily subsided, but the conditions which caused the uproar remain. The District of Columbia is run by a Committee of Congress which is controlled by President Truman's Democratic party committed in its platform to civil rights, and yet these places of public accommodation are closed to colored people. Before the aforesaid uproar started, "white" places were barring Negroes, and they continue to do so. The situation is worse now than it was fifty years ago when there were no roars from the White House about civil rights. Perhaps the President can do nothing about this deplorable situation on his doorstep, but it is noteworthy that he has yet to say anything in condemnation of it. One can read his speeches in vain for any indignant comment on the disgraceful color bar in Washington, capital of the free and democratic world. Franklin D. Roosevelt whose heart bled over the plight of the oppressed peoples of the world, kept significantly silent about what went on within a stone's throw of his office window.

Mr. Schuyler

WHAT IS EVEN more significant, neither the Negroes in Washington, D. C., nor the nation at large have done anything about it either. They have moaned for help, but have done nothing to help themselves. They have not made a move to break down the barriers about which they bleat, although the opportunity to do something has been there all of the time. Indeed, opportunity has blooded its knuckles beating on their door, with no response. If there is intelligent leadership there it has not asserted itself. What is needed there is intelligence, ingenuity and planning, but it seems to be nil.

There might be some excuse for this if the quarter million Negroes in Washington, D. C., were impoverished, but they are far from that. Thousands own fine homes. Scores of thousands have millions of dollars on deposit in the city's banks, where a Negro clerk or teller is as scarce as honor in the Kremlin.

At the same time there is a serious shortage of hotel accommodations in Washington, D. C., not a single legitimate theatre and not too many up-to-date restaurants. What does this suggest?

* * *

UNLESS I AM far wrong, it suggests that if Washington Negroes formed a company and invested a few hundred thousand dollars to erect a fine theatre to which all people with the price would be admitted regardless of color, it would be well patronized by all "races." Not long ago a Negro version of the play, "Tobacco Road," a dramatization of Erskine Caldwell's novel of the same name, was produced at a Negro theatre in the city. Many white people attended the performances, sitting alongside Negroes without any obvious qualms and enjoying the show. It is very likely they would attend a fine, new theatre in downtown Washington which brought the best in drama, music and the dance to our capital city. That would break the ice, establish a precedent, shatter the pattern of jim crow.

Actors and producers in New York City who have boycotted Washington, D. C., have intimated that they would gladly book any theatre there which dropped the Negro ban. They only await the opportunity. Neither whites nor Negroes have supplied the opportunity. Obviously the Negro community is not ready.

* * *

A MILLION OR so dollars will put up a fine hotel, as good as most of these in downtown Washington, D. C. If by some miracle Washington Negroes should get together and erect such a hostelry, I doubt that it would lack for white tenants or that they would move out in a huff upon learning that some guests on their floor were colored or that the clerk whom they had to pay was wearing the burnished livery of the sun. The very same people go to New York or abroad, accept such a circumstance without getting excited and do not fail to enjoy themselves. I doubt that even President Truman would hesitate to attend a banquet in the grand ballroom of such a hotel if somebody reminded him of its ownership. But as things are going now, we'll never have a chance to find out.

Similarly a very good restaurant in downtown Washington which had fine cuisine, courteous service and attractive decor, but which was owned by Negroes, would not lack for white patronage even though a few colored couples occupied some of the tables. Negroes have certainly worked in the hotel and restaurant business long enough to be able to operate an institution which could become famous the world over. I don't mean that all the help in such an institution should be colored. Quite the contrary. I think the staff should be interracial: i.e., practicing what we preach.

* * *

CAN THIS BE done? I see no reason why it cannot, except unwillingness of our people to think clearly and to put their dollars to work. Yammering for help have proved unproductive of results. Washington, D. C., is no more liberal than it was a decade, two decades ago, and the reason is that we have really done nothing on our own part to meet the problem head on.

If the Washington Negroes do not have imagination and gumption enough to pioneer, what about the rest of the Negroes from coast to coast doing it themselves? All of them say they want an end to jim crowism in the capital city, and we certainly have a sufficient number of responsible people to head up the drive. Is it too much to ask that we put our money where only our mouths have been?

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Negro Supremacy Is in Technicolor

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

ONE place where there is Negro supremacy is in technicolor. This is not a sudden conclusion on my part, but it was brought sharply home to me the other evening when I went down to New York's Town Hall to see and hear Perry Weimer's program, "Caribbean Holiday." His lecture covered Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama and Haiti. The color photography did not do justice to the whites, but it certainly made the colored folks look good. This was most marked in these scenes in which the two "races" appeared, and especially those wonderful views of the countryside, cities and bi-centenary exposition of Port-au-Prince. There seems to be an affinity between the color-photo and the colored epidermis, while the whites looked pale and colorless. I have noticed the same thing in technicolor pictures in movie houses here.

Mr. Schuyler

* * *

WEIMER, A WITTY, affable and informed fellow who has taken color pictures all over the two Americas, the Caribbean and Europe, must have a deep affection for Haiti, if one is to judge by his careful pictures and his lecture. He has been there twice for considerable periods and seems to have photographed everything from Aux Cayes to Cap Haitien and from Christophe's Citadel to the executive mansion on the Champ de Mars.

Of course no one could fail, even an amateur, to take pretty good color photographs of the magnificent public buildings, residences and sweeping panoramas of the Magic Island, but so far as I have seen, no one has brought out the beauty of the lovely Haitian woman as well as Weimer. A picture like that is the next best thing to visiting the colorful little country, which I think every American Negro who can scrape together a few hundred dollars should do. It is amazing that Negroes will spend large sums of money visiting such places as Atlantic City, Hot Springs and Miami when there is the most colorful and appealing country in the hemisphere almost on their doorstep! One could understand this if Haiti offered only primitive accommodations, but one can live as comfortably and elegantly in Port-au-Prince as any place in the hemisphere or the world—and with no suggestion of a color line anywhere.

* * *

WELL, ANYWAY, THAT film of Weimer's made me think how far we have fallen short in selling our good points as interesting American citizens. Where are the color films of colored America? A little has been done but very few have seen what has been done. Such black-and-white films as have been made have been extremely mediocre. We have handsome men and beautiful women, attractive homes, up-to-date businesses, modern farms, beautiful schools and colleges—in fact a great deal which would lend itself to color photography. There are scenes right in New York's Harlem which are as appealing as any to be found in a metropolitan community. The spacious subdivisions in Oklahoma City, Atlanta and a score of other cities, North and South, would look wonderful in technicolor, but who has been interested in filming them? Apparently we have dwelt so long and lugubriously on the seamier side of our existence in America that we seem to be lacking in appreciation for the beautiful and attractive side.

* * *

PEOPLE ARE JUDGED and want to be judged by their best, and there is no better way to show it than in color films, but there we have fallen down. The best argument to prove the worthiness of the Negro for his proper place in American life is to picture his ability to measure up to the best in all fields of endeavor and achievement. I have been in scores of colored communities that should be and doubtless are proud of what they have accomplished, only to find that there were no picture postcards to be purchased at the local Negro hotel or YMCA or drug store. Such pictures would be little messengers of good-will, understanding and appreciation. They would not only help educate whites, but Negroes too. An appalling number of our own people are almost totally ignorant of what their own people have in other parts of the country. That accounts for the spouting of so much nonsense by people in one section about other sections.

AS I SAT THERE and saw the extremely beautiful film of lovely Haiti, I could see the great possibilities for a similar and longer film on colored America, with sound. Such a film taken by an expert color photographer with sound by an intelligent and informed commentator would, in my opinion, have extremely wide circulation among colored and white people. There is a tremendous market for that sort of thing in movie houses, schools, churches, colleges, YWCA and YMCA buildings, clubs and private residences. With some advertising behind it, it might enjoy a brisk rental.

The logical organization among us to do that would be the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with a tremendous market in its branches alone. I think this film would raise more money in a year than a half dozen lynchings.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Great Changes Have Taken Place in Status of Negro Farmers in South

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

BECAUSE many people are apt to forget that most colored Americans make their living from agriculture and allied endeavors, I think there ought to be more than passing interest in a recent report by my friend Sherman Briscoe, information specialist of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. He recently made a tour of the farming areas of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas. This is the area where, according to professional vendors of race hustling claptrap, there is supposed to be a reign of terror, with Negroes skulking around in fear and trembling, scared to call their souls their own and dreaming only of of the time when they can escape to the slums of Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit and New York. This is the area, also, where Negro farm ownership has increased 5 per cent since 1940, and sharecropping has decreased phenomenally.

Mr. Schuyler

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ACCORDING TO BRISCOE, Negro farmers no longer rely exclusively on cotton as a cash crop, but are today growing grass seed, vegetables, poultry, livestock, timber, tung oil and turpentine, with the main trend away from row crops to grasses and livestock. This is due in part to farmers noting how their 4-H boys and girls have won prizes with their pigs and calves at livestock shows, being encouraged by the Department of Agriculture to retire wornout land, and having access to the increasing number of small packing houses and milk processing plants in all parts of the South. The Negro farmer today is raising cattle and producing milk for sale. As Briscoe puts it, they are creating a new pattern of agriculture. This is called balanced farming or diversification. The Southern Negro farmer is no longer an illiterate dolt, but a fellow who can read, write and figure, and drives his own car. This is a far cry from the "lynch terror" wailed about by the Reds.

* * *

BRISCOE TELLS ABOUT Myrt M. Coney, owner of 600 acres near Magnolia, Miss. Instead of counting on cotton as in the past, he has seventy acres of corn, twenty-five of oats, fifteen acres in peaches, pears and pecans, six acres in sugar cane, 300 acres in woodland and pasture, and only thirty-five in cotton. This downtrodden individual gets a gross income of $7,000 from timber, $2,000 from pears, $2,000 from sugar cane syrup, $2,500 from beef cattle, $500 from pecans, $1,000 from broilers. This year he plans to raise 10,000 broilers.

In Georgia, one James L. Reese told him that the nineteen tons of seed he raised from eighteen acres of Blue Lupine (an important soil-building crop) helped him sustain losses from his cotton crop ruined by weather and boll weevil.

In Florida, Ruban Gilley related how he bought forty acres that nobody wanted in 1938, terraced and improved the land with soil-building crops, and is now producing forty-five bushels of corn per acre. Another forty acres he later purchased is grossing $3,500 annually.

* * *

IN ALABAMA, Carroll Jones switched from cotton to cattle and now owns 450 head. Briscoe describes his home as "modern as any city residence—butane gas heat, hot and cold running water, an electric refrigerator and a thirty-cubic-foot deep-freeze unit packed with steaks, pork loins, broilers, fryers, fruit and vegetables."

In Texas the information specialist visited a farmer named Rigsny who with his two sons is selling purebred registered Jerseys. They imported their foundation stock from Canada and the Isle of Jersey. They just sold twenty-two purebred calves for $11,000. Apparently neither the Dixiecrats nor the Ku Klux Klan has interfered with their operations.

A farmer named Robinson declared that eight years ago he had nothing but his two hands. Today he has a home with an electric stove, electric pump, barns and tractor. His two children walked away with top prizes for pigs and lambs at the state livestock show last October.

A Tennessee farmer named Collins who was a tobacco sharecropper twenty years ago now owns 531 acres, ninety-seven milk cows that bring him $1,000 a month, eighty-five hogs, three tractors and a combine.

A Texas farmer named Culton picked forty-two bales of cotton off forty acres of land which three years ago yielded only a half bale an acre. He built up his land with peas and vetch and halted erosion with terraces.

* * *

SOUTHERN NEGRO farmers today, aided by agricultural extension agents, have learned to live at home. One farmer told Briscoe he hadn't bought 30 cents worth of salt meat in eleven years. His shelves groaned with scores of jars of home-canned food.

Briscoe's observations accord with my own. Great changes have taken place in the status of Negro farmers everywhere in the South. While the farm homes are still in the main unattractive, that is due largely to conservatism and indifference rather than any inherent handicap in the rural way of life. Right next door to a shack will be a modern, well-furnished home, thanks to the efforts of the indefatigable home demonstration agents who are teaching farm women how to keep their children on the land by making the homes colorful, attractive and liveable.

* * *

THERE ARE OVER 200,000 of these Negro farm owners, many of them far more successful than any cited by Briscoe. All they needed to succeed was intelligence, knowledge, energy and thrift, no matter where they lived. I have been on Negro farms so large that you couldn't see the end from a second-story window. They are respected and unmolested. They often co-operate with their white neighbors, and vice versa.

Naturally none of these stable individuals will ever get a Spingarn medal because they haven't won praise by warbling spirituals, investigating lynchings or writing harrowing novels of persecution, but they really count.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

They Ran Out on H. A. Howard and Left Him to Face White Frame-Up Alone

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

THE interesting case of H. A. Howard, financier and businessman, of Los Angeles, Calif., is further evidence that for all the progress that has been made by the colored brethren, they still have a long way to go. All of us have not yet learned to stand firmly behind our business pioneers when they are in difficulties or under attack. Until we learn to do that we are not going to get very far. We still have Negroes in our midst who actually rejoice when some pioneer business effort encounters difficulties although it should be obvious to any nitwit that unless we gain more economic, and especially financial, power we are not going to get far, no matter how many favorable laws are passed or favorable court decisions handed down. Mr. Howard has done some wonderful pioneering in the West Coast colored community, but now it seems that some of his associates, who should have more brains and guts, are running out on him.

Mr. Schuyler

* * *

WHO IS H. A. HOWARD? He is a 50-year-old, Jamaica-born Negro who went to Los Angeles from New York in 1920, worked his way through the University of Southern California by running a little shoe repair shop, and later entered the real estate field. Like many courageous and far-sighted Negro realtors elsewhere, he was instrumental in opening up residential areas hitherto closed to Negroes. Later on he also entered the field of general insurance.

In 1945 he noted that there were long lines of Negro depositors at the Security First National Bank of Los Angeles. One of the officials told him that 80 per cent of the branch's depositors were Negroes. Howard noted that there were no Negro employes. As a realtor he also knew that those Negro depositors who wanted to finance the purchase of homes were out of luck so far as that and other local banks were concerned.

So Howard organized a group which applied in 1946 to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for a charter. Thus was born the Broadway Federal Savings and Loan Association, the second federally chartered association owned by Negroes, and it started business on Jan. 11, 1947. At the end of 1949 its assets were over $3,100,000, becoming the largest association of its kind in less than three years.

* * *

IN APRIL, 1948, Mr. Howard launched the idea of the American Savings and Loan League, a national organization of Negro-owned savings and loan institutions to further the idea of financial self-help among Negroes. It was founded seven months later by seven of the associations holding more than half the total assets of the twenty-four such institutions in the country. Howard became its first president.

In December, 1948, he acquired a Los Angeles newspaper, renamed it the Star Review, and six months later had a new duplex press and all facilities in a new building.

Realizing the paucity of credit facilities open to Negro business folk and the unwillingness of local banks to hire Negroes, he announced to the Controller of the Currency in January, 1949, that he intended to organize a national bank in Los Angeles, which would be the first of its kind operated by Negroes and the second to be a member of the Federal Reserve System. The controller authorized the stock sale on April 29, 1949. The Negro public was invited to participate and Howard invested a large sum of his own money.

* * *

COINCIDENTALLY, THESE activities galvanized the white banks into activity. In March the Bank of America (owned by A. P. Giannini, erstwhile admirer of Mussolini) suddenly hired a Negro clerk-typist and a bookkeeper at its branch in the black ghetto. In April the Security First National hired a Negro teller. The Farmers and Merchants Bank then announced that it would hire Negroes as of Sept. 1, and about this time Howard broke ground for remodeling the site of his proposed national bank. Suddenly out of a clear sky on Oct. 25, 1949, the Treasury Department summarily informed Howard that "in the absence of action necessary to complete the preliminary steps in the organization program, we consider the proposal abandoned and have accordingly closed our file on the case." Normally, it is said, such action does not come without two previous warnings. But this was a Negro bank which would compete with the big white banks, so the bolt came unannounced out of the blue. It is significant that at the time over 60 per cent of the capital stock had been subscribed, and shortly all of it would have been. Then, of course, it would have been too late to stop this pioneering step to break the financial bonds with which white finance ties this and every other Negro community.

* * *

NOW WAS THE time for the Negro community to rally 100 per cent behind Howard because a child could see what was being put down. If they had done so, it would have flabbergasted the white forces and they would have retreated in disorder. Instead the rabbit psychology possessed some of the biggest Negro supporters of the project. One colored businessman who had recently expanded at great expense, doubtless financed by local white banks, hastily resigned from both the Broadway Association and the proposed bank allegedly because he was too busy (apparently he had had plenty of time before). Two other big Negroes sued Howard for alleged default of payments under verbal contracts. Former employes set up a rival business. Rumors were circulated that the Broadway Association was "unsafe."

Mr. Howard is a member of the YMCA local board, life member of the NAACP, West Coast vice president of the National Association of Real Estate Brokers, a member of the public housing committee of the U. S. Savings and Loan League and a director of the American Savings and Loan League. Nevertheless, at the first sign of difficulty, all Howard's board of directors except one ran out on him to face the white frame-up alone! Are we ready? I ask you!

Report From Europe

by Ollie Stewart

PARIS—Donald Wyatt and his wife (the former Marian Gandy) arrived here this week with their three-year-old daughter. They will spend nine months in the French capital. Wyatt has a Fulbright grant to study the way of life among the North Africans in Paris.

Teacher in the social sciences department at Fisk University, Wyatt was a field director with the Red Cross during the war, working successively in North Africa, Italy and France.

The Peters Sisters, who have just closed a long run at the ABC Club, have been signed to star at the Folies Bergere, replacing Josephine Baker as the main attraction.

Their mother, who was ailing recently, is now much improved. The girls haven't been out of work since they came to Europe more than two years ago.

Clients Follow Band Leader

Arthur Briggs has taken his band into the swank Carrere's, just off the Champs Elysees. Most of the millionaire clients who listened and danced to his music for years at Chez Florence have now switched to Carrere's.

Lloyd Howard, 1911 I St., N.E., Washington, who has been in France for eight months, is now trying to connect with an architectural firm. His wife (Ruth Froma) works here for UNESCO.

Howard is a graduate of Howard University and Yale. Until recently he was employed by a French firm, but the project on which he was working fell victim to a retrenchment program by the French Government.

Aiming at La Scala

Al Tinnin, White Plains, N.Y., is reaching for his star in the operatic field—and hoping to connect with the La Scala Opera Company in Milan, Italy. Graduate of Carleton College (first and only of his race), Northfield, Minn., Tinnin has a degree in French literature and has been here since July. Sings tenor.

Colored inhabitants of Paris have taken a long time to get around to something that's been going on for years in the USA.

Perhaps inspired by financial success achieved by Katherine Dunham, a group has rented a theatre and announced plans to produce some shows.

First in City's History

This is the first time in the history of Paris that a theatrical piece will have an entirely colored cast. The theatre holds 200 persons. The opening bill (three nights a week) will present "Emperor Jones" by Eugene O'Neill, and "Bagatelles" by Susan Glaspell.

No one seems to be able to explain why colored Frenchmen have not shown an interest in acting in the past. The best guess I've heard is that there have been too few of them in Paris—or maybe they shied away from anything that looked like segregation.

Looking around in other fields, I have uncovered two letter carriers, no policemen or firemen, no magistrates or judges, a half dozen taxi drivers, one man who has a small plant for making sweaters and knitted goods, perhaps a half dozen lawyers and doctors, no school teachers, no newspapers, no insurance companies, banks, drug stores or barber shops.

"New Look" at Oxford

Oxford students in England can now get a drink. The ban on Oxford University undergraduates having a beer in hotel and saloon bars has been lifted. The boys can even smoke now while wearing the academic gowns, but the practice isn't encouraged.

Also, to get an education at Oxford, you still have to give up the urge to take a chair or make a speech at a political gab-fest. If you give a dinner party, you can invite only 6 people—and if you go to a party in London at which drinks are served, there must not be more than 10 persons present.

Worst of all, no undergraduate may own or drive a motor vehicle of any description within a radius of 20 miles of Oxford, except with permission.

Report From Europe

by Ollie Stewart

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS—Today I want to pinch-hit for a minister and preach a sermon. My text: Lily-white American embassies in Europe and elsewhere. I hope to arouse in somebody the urge to do something about a hellish situation. It is almost unbelieveable that more than 15 million colored persons, who can be easily aroused about little things, can sit idly by in the year 1950 and let a prejudiced State Department continue to sell them down the river.

Ollie Stewart

A few days ago I had to go to the American Embassy here to have my passport renewed. I also had two other errands to attend to; but, as on previous occasions, I almost forgot my business because I couldn't stop looking at the scores of white clerks, attaches and what-not who make up the staff.

Not Good Picture Given

Not a single colored face did I see.

The Embassy is a part of the United States. The Embassy speaks for the United States and is supposed to reproduce the USA in miniature. So what do the French people see?

They see the U.S. as being all white. They hear at the Embassy that only white Americans are intelligent. They hear that colored Americans are their inferiors and little better than slaves. They peddle color prejudice and slander America's biggest minority group in a vicious and uncalled-for fashion.

Time to Stop It

It has been going on for centuries—but it is time now that it be stopped. It can be stopped if some of the groups fighting discrimination at home turn their guns on the State Department and demand an FEPC for embassies and legations abroad.

What is true in Paris is equally true in London, Rome, Madrid, Geneva, Brussels, Amsterdam, Athens, Moscow, Copenhagen, Oslo and Stockholm.

The workers are all white—but their pay comes out the pockets of all taxpayers.

One in 300 Not Enough

It's no good saying: "Look, we're doing okay. Rupert Lloyd is vice-consul and second secretary at the Embassy in Paris."

It's not okay. Rupert Lloyd is only one man out of about 300, and not more than 10 Frenchmen have had occasion to see him. Half the work of an embassy is propaganda, anyway—listening and dropping hints in the right places.

So, even operating on the 10% basis, according to population, there should be at least 30 colored employees at the Paris Embassy.

If you're old enough to read this, you're old enough to write your Congressman, wire the President, or the Secretary of State, talk to your club, write your favorite newspaper, get next to your pastor or scream for the NAACP.

Becoming Ghouls

Do something. If you don't know what prejudice is doing to you in the embassies you're paying to support, take my word for it that they're doing plenty.

Spring in Paris—and apartment-hunting time. But then people are always apartment hunting in Paris. I've been looking for three years—and I'm still in a hotel room. We watch the papers for accidents and deaths—hoping to move in when the undertaker moves out with the body.

The Peters Sisters (combined weight 1000 pounds) descend by parachute onto the stage at the Folies Bergere where they're now starring in place of Josephine Baker.

England Not Place to Bathe

Stanley Mitchell, 171 W. 133rd St., NYC, arrived this week to study painting at the Beaux-Arts Academy. An ex-GI, Mitchell was formerly a student at the Art Students' League in New York.

How often do you take a bath? If you're more than a Saturday night regular, better stay out of England. Only 46% of British households have bathrooms and 7% have no piped water.

Report From Europe

by Ollie Stewart

FRANKFURT, Germany — Can anybody think of a reason why South Africa would want to adopt Brown Babies from Germany? I can't — unless it's for a reason too horrible to mention. But a hush-hush conversation which I had this week revealed that up to February at least 125 children of mixed German-American parentage have been sent to South Africa for adoption.

Ollie Stewart

Nobody seems inclined to talk about it, but arrangements are said to have been made with an official in the High Commissioner's office, and the children to have come from orphanages.

I can't say whether okay for the deal came from Washington or from Mr. McCloy's office—but Americans have a right to know all about it. I want to know more.

Hate on Sale in Germany

Hometown stuff: The first newspaper I read after my arrival here a few days ago had a familiar ring. It had a story that was rank with color prejudice.

They call it the Occupation Chronicle and in its way it is a valuable record of how American hate merchants are peddling the type of poison that made Hitler and Bilbo great in their respective bailliwicks.

A two-column headline announced that a barber shop quartet group was being formed in Frankfurt—and whether they sing or not, all men were urged to attend the first meeting in the Little Theatre on Wessfrauen Strasse. But—

Americans Underwriting It

"The only official requirements for membership are that an applicant be a male, WHITE, of good character and be interested in the aims of the society."

This, mind you, in an Army newspaper—paid for by American taxpayers!

Comeback: Yesterday, in a hurry to get from the press club to the dispensary and pick up some medicine for my cough, I grabbed a German taxi. The first four or five blocks we made time.

Then we got caught in a traffic jam—a real bumper-to-bumper traffic jam, such as you see in New York or Paris or Chicago.

Comeback Nearly Complete

A year ago the only vehicles you saw on the streets of Frankfurt were jeeps and trucks. Now, only a few of the cars that crawl along, yard by yard, are military.

Most of them are shiny sedans, driven by prosperous-looking Germans—well-fed and well-dressed. The German comeback is practically complete.

And an even better sign of prosperity is the number of Germans you see smoking fat, black and good-smelling cigars.

I am not modest. Twice last week I took a bow when I was introduced as "the man who cleaned up Giessen—the hell-hole of Germany."

My Pen Started Something

Actually, I did not clean up Giessen, but I did write an article two years ago that started something. General Clay (so I am told) came down from Berlin and gave the Giessen command 90 days to "clean up the goddam place."

Today, Giessen's Verdun Kaserne is no longer a hell-hole. Seven or eight hundred soldiers live and work there in fairly comfortable surroundings.

The barracks are painted. Some grass is growing. Bathing facilities have been installed. Entertainment, recreation and education can be had on the post.

Sunday I went to church to hear Chaplain Charles Fisher preach at the Kaserne. A German played the organ. And at least a dozen other Germans sat in the chapel and sang and prayed with the soldiers—in English.

So I'll Take a Bow

As I said before, I am not modest. I think I am entitled to take one bow for some of the changes that have made Giessen a different place.

When Red Cross field director Rolley Wyer takes his beautiful wife and two charming daughters back to Jacksonville, Fla., this summer, he will have completed four years and three months in Germany. His youngest daughter has spent most of her life in Germany.

One rumor says that Lt. Col. Hyman Y. Chase will replace Lt. Col. Marcus H. Ray along about September.

Report From Europe

by Ollie Stewart

KITZENGEN, Germany — The Army is far behind the Air Forces as far as intergration is concerned. There is absolutely no comparison.

Where the boys in blue are being assigned on the basis of ability, the boys in khaki are still segregated all down the line, with color as the measuring rod. However, when credit is due, I'll be the first to give it — and this week I learned of an assignment for which somebody deserves a lot of credit.

Capt. Theodore A. (Ted) Thompson, New Bedford, Mass., has just been named provost marshal at the famous Landsberg prison.

Supervises War Criminals

He is now the man who is responsible for a group of international war crimes prisoners who are behind bars for execution, for life, and for varying terms of from 5 to 30 years.

Previously, Captain Thompson was assistant provost marshal at Kitzengen, and before coming overseas in July, 1948, he commanded an MP detachment in NYC. He and his wife, Mrs. Lillian Thompson, have two children, Ted Jr., who is 7, and Carol Ann, who is 4. Capt Thompson has 16 years of Army service to his credit.

Everybody in his new command is white, except him.

WAC, Wac Celebrates

Sgt. 1/C Edith M. Linzey of 713 S. 11th Street, Newark, a member of the 7871st WAC detachment here, celebrated her eighth year in the Army on May 14, the same day the WAC observed its eighth birthday.

She is chief clerk in the central files section at the training center. Her mother, Mrs. Rose Linzey, lives at the same address in Newark.

Some IRO Worker Kept

Pfc. James Levell of 206 Ridgewood Avenue, Newark, of the 371st Inf. Bn. is another Jersevite making a fine reputation in Kitzengen.

Herman J. Holiday, Indianapolis, educational consultant at IRO headquarters in Bad Kissengen, is one of the key persons still retained on the job as IRO activities are being terminated in the US Zone of Germany. Holiday is a graduate of Tuskegee and Butler University.

Some IRO workers have been declared surplus. Others have found jobs in other organizations, as the July deadline for the closing of DP camps approaches.

When I phoned Ligon Buford, former director of Area 6, I learned that he had just left for Geneva, Switzerland, where he is supposed to work for IRO's international headquarters.

Sends Word to Sister

Cpl. Lorraine Lewis, 346 M Place, S.W., Washington, sends word to her sister, Mrs. Edna Thompson, 322A M Pl., S.W., that she is enjoying her stay in Germany. Corporal Lewis arrived this year in February.

M/Sgt Horace A. McCray, 5722 Filbert St,, Philadelphia, first sergeant of the 7871st T and E Group, Kitzengen, is on his way back to the USA on rotation. During the war he was in the Pacific. He has been top kick of the KTC cadre personnel, largest company at the training center, for two and a half years.

W. B. Johnson, in charge of the educational program at KTC, gets his doctorate from the University of Paris in July.

The Bowery Brawl, given here recently at the officers club, allowed officers to dress as they pleased. Maj. Ivan Harrison, Detroit: Capt. K. W. Carter, Chicago; Capt. John Royston, Kansas City; and Lt. Arthur P. Hatfield, New Orleans, dressed in civilian clothes. Couldn't resist the urge.

Incidentally, Captain Royston, Liutenant Hatfield and Warrant Officer Robinson are due back in the States the first week in June.

I was pleasantly entertained by Lt. and Mrs. Aljean L. Shelton of Cincinnati during my stay in Kitzengen.

Report From Europe

by Ollie Stewart

Paris — It was that tense half hour before Ray Robinson climbed into the ring to meet Jean Stock. You couldn't call it stage-fright, because Ray is too old a campaigner for that. But the air was pretty electric, and the silence was heavy when I walked into the dressing room.

Robinson was pacing the floor with impatient strides, his face expressionless. George Gainford was leaning back against the wall.

PeeWee Beale, one of the trainers, had his elbows propped on a table, with his chin cupped in the palms of his hands. June Clark, secretary, was plastering tape on the water bottle.

My Question Cracks Ice

I didn't want to get thrown out for saying something silly, so I said casually, to nobody in particular: "Look, I've crossed on the De Grasse, and I know about the Ile de France. How about the Liberte?"

The tension was shattered before the words were out of my mouth. Robinson stopped in the middle of his stride. Gainford heaved forward and his chair hit the floor with a bump. PeeWee dropped his elbows and sat up straight.

"That Liberte is the finest ship in the world," said Sugar Ray, and his face began to light up. "Boy, did we get service! We ate four meals a day and everynight they brought fruit to the cabins —"

Even Changed Ship's Course

"The captain had Ray up on the bridge," interrupted Gainford, "and set up a training ring next to the first class swimming pool."

"We went in swimming every day," said PeeWee, "and the captain changed the ship's course so that it would stay level while Ray was training."

"That's right," declared Gainford. "The captain actually took a new course so that the boat wouldn't rock and bother Robinson while he worked out. No fooling."

Ray came over to where I was sitting. "Next time you take a boat, take the Liberte," he said.

"But don't go first class. Cabin class is fine enough for anybody You have the run of the ship; go anywhere and do anything. Yet you save 30 or 40 dollars. I'm sold on the French Line — and the Liberte."

Gainsford Drinks Tea

Ray sat down then and stretched out his legs. He was completely relaxed. His encounter with Stock in a few minutes was completely forgotten. A boy stuck his head in the door and yelled: "Robinson, get ready!"

I got up to leave then, and as I went out the door Gainford was telling a funny one about how a steward on the Liberte had shamed him into having tea with his wife. They were all laughing at the idea of Gainford having tea.

Twenty minutes later, we were all back in the dressing room, with two dozen photographers trying to break the door down. A relaxed Robinson had walked out and knocked Jean Stock cold in the first minute of the second round.

A Young Old Lady

Birthday party: The city of Paris will be 2,000 years old in 1951 — and we're going to have a birthday party. I say we because I certainly expect to help celebrate. I've celebrated lts of things much less important.

When you stop to think about it, 2,000 years is a long, long time. New York, Baltimore, Chicago and Los Angeles are nothing but infants by comparison to Paris. They started work on the Cathedral of Notre Dame away back before 1200.

If you can spare the time, why not come to the party? Everybody who reads this can consider himself invited.

Has Place to Stay

Success: Rene Starks, owner of Rene's House of Style, 591 High St., Newark, N.J., hit the jackpot this week in Paris. She found a small apartment. Finding a place to live is a real achievement, and Rene is justifiably happy. She's here for two years studying fashion designing.

First colored troops to be stationed in France since 1946 are now in Bordeaux. They're members of a port battalion, handling supplies destined for Germany.

Federated CLUBS

—BY REBECCA STILES TAYLOR—

LEARN U.S.A. ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS

THE DAILY AND WEEKLY newspapers of our country, for the past several months, have been filled to overflowing with reports, accusations, denunciations and condemnations of law enforcement officers, racketeers, criminals and unsolved murders.

United States Senator Kefauver's proble not only flushed the "underworld," but laid bare the economic and political systems that are in control of all large city governments, and makes true the saying that "The world suffers more from leaders and authorities than from the masses." The fact that stands out is — the leaders and authorities are all MEN.

MRS. TAYLOR

My special task is to write ABOUT and FOR organized women and women who achieve, so as to encourage them to do more. In the light of recent findings, I feel that I am not overstepping my territory when I call attention to the fact that this entire MESS deals entirely with the male of the species, because women citizens have little touch with the legislative, judicial and executive operations of local governments, although women's judgment is needed as a balance in all things.

This is not the first time wholesale crime has been exposed, but at election time fuel is always added to the slumbering fires that dormant, volcano-like eat into the very vitals of our communities and suddenly burst forth at a magic touch. Men are now begging women to vote them into office. Many are riding in on "straight tickets" —men (if reports be true) who are totally unfit for office.

How can women intelligently vote, when they know so little about the economic and political systems of local government? Strange but true—the public knows more about the national government than it does about the governments of their counties and cities. In selecting the best men (and best women) for office, it seems to me that greater stress should be placed on educational training, for the electorate, especially the youth of the country. One asks—who will do the teaching? My answer is—local government—365 days in the year—through home, school, clubs, community agencies, wards and precincts.

Then, too, office holders must learn a lesson. They harrass one to help elect them, and when they get into office many become dictators, and women lobbies can reach the President of the U.S.A. more readily than they. Some of them are actually RUDE, especially since "witch-hunting" has become popular.

No, women do not understand the labyrinth of local government, and neither do the youth, yet their entire lives are circumscribed and dominated by many untrained and half-trained grafters. They must be taught, else what can you expect of them?

Under our economic and political systems, men are dominant and are naturally represented. The Declaration of Independence says that the just powers of the government are derived from the consent of the governed. Does this mean all the governed, a majority or a minority of the governed? How are decisions made? If the governed are all the people, then every individual has the right "to give consent." However, although nominal power is conveyed through universal suffrage upon masses of the people, a great number of them do not use that power because they have never been taught its value or how to use it.

Some of them have practically no interest in public questions. This goes for both women and men. Many do not understand political and social questions well enough to have an intelligent voice in arguing about changes.

The elements of public opinion do not grow out of knowledge and they are not the product of reason. Men vote against government because whatever its merits, it has been too long in power, or there is a panic, or policies in dispute or leaders change sides, or there is threatened war or real war when vital decisions must be made.

Such a description of an electorate is depressing. It seems to indicate a somewhat inadequately educated public—for only the uneducated are "sent headlong" by panic. Education is an expensive luxury if well done, and education is only ONE item in a national budget. Armies and navies and air machines, past and future wars are costly, too. Our governments cannot afford all so they spend less instead of more for education. Moreover, the dominant few do not always encourage further education. They prefer a quiescent or sheep-like electorate. It is easier to get things done. The uneducated are usually more easily satisfied.

WOMEN AND VOTERS MUST STUDY AND LEARN THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF THEIR COUNTRY IF THEY WOULD FUNCTION EFFICIENTLY.

Willard Townsend

Anti-Discrimination Forces Win Another Victory In The South

ANTI-DISCRIMINATION forces in Maryland won another victory last week when Judge John T. Tucker in Baltimore City Court ordered the University of Maryland to admit Parren J. Mitchell, a Baltimore Negro student, to graduate classes in sociology on the main campus at College Park.

Mitchell, 27, is a graduate of Morgan State College in Baltimore. When he applied for admission to graduate classes on the College Park campus, where no Negro student has ever been accepted, university authorities tried to set up a special course in sociology for him in its Baltimore schools.

Judge Tucker based his ruling on the fact that as a lone student in Baltimore, Mitchell would not have the equal opportunity which is his right under the constitution, as he would be deprived of participation in seminars, the opportunity to exchange views with other students and the chance to share in other campus activities.

The decision was based on the ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court in the McLaurin case, involving the admission of a Negro graduate student to the University of Oklahoma. The University of Maryland board of regents will decide on an appeal at a meeting late this month. However, State Attorney General Hall Hammond said he will not recommend such a course.

On the same day that Judge Tucker handed down his decision, F. Vernon Roberts, third-year Negro student at Coppin Teachers College, filed suit in U. S. District Court at Baltimore to compel the State Board of Education and State Superintendent of Education Thomas G. Pullen to admit him as an advanced student to Towson State Teachers College. Roberts contended the Towson school offers training not available at Negro institutions, and that his application was rejected "solely because of race and color."

Pending before the Maryland Supreme Court is the case of Esther McCready, a Negro girl seeking admission to the University of Maryland School of Nursing in Baltimore. The lower courts have ordered her admission, but the state is contending that she may obtain "equal opportunity" by attending nursing school in Tennessee under the Southern Regional Education agreement.

While this was being written, the following information came to my attention.

Dr. John G. Gill, pastor of the First Unitarian Church at Alton, Illinois, since 1944, has lost his pulpit because he acted to prevent violence in a school segregation dispute. The congregation so voted, 46 to 25.

Last January, 175 Negroes tried to enroll in the Alton elementary and junior high schools. When the school board denied their requests for transfers, the Negroes returned to their own classrooms. Dr. Gill had organized a group of ministers to be on hand at the schools to prevent violence.

Although no charges were made against Dr. Gill, he said later he was convinced that his attempt to prevent friction between races was "apparently resented by someone in high position."

Willard Townsend

Foundation Of Prejudices Hidden In Textbooks By Inaccurate Writing

WHY DO SOME people hate and fear human beings whose skin happens to be a different shade? Why do some distrust or dislike those who have a different religion, or who were born in a foreign country?

A recent extensive study made by a group of educators indicates that the trouble may lie partly in our school textbooks, particularly in the lower grades. Perhaps, as a lyric in the famous musical, "South Pacific" puts it:

"You've got to be taught before it's too late,
Before you six or seven or eight,
To hate all the people your relatives hate,
You've got to be carefully taught!"

The lyric by Oscar Hammerstein, II, is quoted in a new pamphlet that summarizes in popular language the findings of an extensive study of textbook material made by a committee of the American Council on Education and published in a book entitled "Intergroup Relations in Teaching Material."

The textbook study found that while "textbooks and courses of study were, with very few exceptions, free of intentional bias toward any group in the American population," there were many instances of of "inaccurate writing, revealing a hidden bias." One text for instance, links "Jews and Communists."

Others, seemingly sympathetic, write of Negroes as though they were all marked with childlike and superstitious characteristics, instead of having as many differences as other people. "The textbooks which single out these characteristics tend to mislead the students," says the pamphlet.

Important gaps and omissions, however, rather than these small indications of unconscious prejudices on the part of authors, constituted the most serious failure, the educators found. Here are some of them:

1. Although democracy is built on the principle of respect for the worth and dignity of the individual citizen, little attention was paid to this in the textbooks, most of which ignored the subject completely. "In many books the very meaning of personality is distorted," the pamphlet says. "It is treated as something you can put on or take off as you can a suit or a dress. Rarely is it made clear that personality is the kind of person you actually are."

2. The treatment of civil liberties is abstract in character, almost never personalized, or explained by case studies, so that school children can really understand their application.

3. The right to vote is also sketchily treated, with few textbooks explaining it as a protection for the individual. "The failure of millions of citizens to vote in our national, state, and local elections suggests that many people have never learned to use the vote as a protection of their welfare as individuals," according to the pamphlet.

4. Most texts fail to give a clear conception of the patterns of group organization. Politicians think in terms of the "church vote," the "farm vote," the "Negro vote," the "labor vote," showing they recognize the importance of groups in American society. Textbooks tend to type a group, implying that all members of the group are alike.

"We would look in vain, for example, through our commonly used texts for background information about the Negro group that might be used in dispelling the popular misconceptions and prejudices about them," states the pamphlet.

Willard TOWNSEND

Kentucky CIO Takes Stand On Jim Crow At Annual Meeting In Paducah

THE 11TH annual Kentucky CIO Council convention bitterly denounced racial discrimination.

The delegates had good reason to take a strong stand on the issue. Because of the refusal of the Cobb Hotel to serve both Negro and white delegates in the banquet room, the sessions were moved to another hotel. The convention was held at Paducah, Nov. 4-5.

Council President Al Whitehouse said both white and Negro delegates were served without question at the 1947 convention in Paducah.

The convention also adopted a resolution endorsing the candidacy of Governor Earle C. Clements, Democratic nominee to the U. S. Senate who was subsequently elected. The defeated Republican candidate, Charles I. Dawson, was strongly denounced.

Support was pledged President Truman's national health program. Whitehouse verbally lashed the opposition of the American Medical Association to the health program, terming its position "unjustified and reactionary." The convention also called for continuance of rent control and for additional federal housing projects.

Whitehouse told the 200 delegates the aims of the state council included "bringing democracy into our work-day world."

"We want status for members of the CIO," he declared. "We want to feel that we are recognized as far more significant than the machines we operate and the material we handle. We want security and an end to the ups and downs of the business cycle. We want a cushion against the hazards of unemployment, sickness and old.

"This of course, means wider participation for all in economic and political decisions. And this wider participation means that you will make trade unionism a way of life in your community."

Other speakers included Anthony Smith, assistant director of CIO Councils; William B. Taylor, CIO regional director, and L. R. Willis, state commissioner of industrial relations.

Whitehouse was reelected to his eleventh term as president and Henry Siebert was named to the newly created post of vice president. Fred Foss was reelected secretary-treasurer.

Defender Sat. 12-9-50
Chicago Ill.
12-9-50

Willard Townsend

Vatican Praises U. S. Catholics Working For Interracial Justice

THE PROBLEMS of the American Negro have become a world-wide issue. One more proof of this is the fact that the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome last month issued a long report on the Catholic Church and Negroes in the United States.

"European visitors to the United States," the report says, "notice restrictions placed upon people because of their color or racial origin, and ask why it is that Americans condemn the Nazis so severely when practicing racial discrimination themselves."

The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which is distributing the report to 300,000,000 Catholics all over the world, is headed by Cardinal Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, who at one time served as Apostolic Delegate to the United States.

These are the highlights of the report:

President Truman's Civil Rights program is praised because its aim is "to secure complete civil rights for all American citizens in practice, as, in a broad sense, they already are secured for them in theory."

"The harsh, compulsory segregation even in the national capitol, Washington" is pointed out as one of the many injustices forced upon the American Negro. Speaking of racial segregation, the report commends the "prudent and carefully planned, but determined war" being made by Catholic leaders "against the policy of compulsory segregation or 'color bar.' This policy in itself is a grave derogation to the Christian concept of the individual's inherent dignity."

The report answered the arguments of those who, "trying" to justify segregation, say it produces peace and harmony by "keeping separate people who would otherwise be in conflict." "This ignores the fact," the report states, "that separation itself is a principal cause of conflict . . . since it fosters those traits in both the majority and minority group that lead to conflict."

"The full integration of the Negro into American life and into the Church is the only practical solution to the problems faced by American Negroes," the report says. "More and more of the Bishops of the United States have adopted a policy of full integration of the Negro into all phases of Catholic Life . . . There is not the slightest doubt that this will eventually be the recognized policy of all parts of the Catholic Church in the United States, even though in certain localities it has great difficulty in making progress due to the apathy or misconceptions on the part of many Catholics."

The report then quotes Father D. J. Corrigan, C.SS.R.: "Perhaps never has the devil been more clever than he undoubtedly is in using otherwise devoted, zealous priests and nuns to obstruct occasionally the spiritual conquest of Negro souls."

The report gave its blessing to the working for the integration of Negroes. It singled out the Catholic Interracial Council, Friendship House, and the Clergy Conference on Negro Welfare. The work of these organizations is praised because they recognize that "mere generalities are not enough." The Catholic movement has tried to apply the great principles of the Church "to specific situations, particularly where there are signs of acute conflict between white and Negro elements in the community."

The report calls attention to the progress made by the Negro since he was freed from slavery over 85 years ago. "The progress made by the American Negro—social, educational—since his emancipation is without parallel in history. One of the most remarkable features of this progress has been the incorporation of the Negro into the organized labor movement of the United States."

In discussing the number of Negro Catholics in the United States the report says that "the major obstacle to the conversion of the American Negro is the (prejudiced) attitude of white Catholics themselves.

Independent Sat. 3-25-50

United Negro College Fund Pattern For Progress

Independent Sat. 6-10-50

THE OPPORTUNITY to live better—to earn more of the good things of life for ourselves and our families—the right to plan our own futures, has always been the American idea. It cut the pattern for this nation. Today, it is the world's hope of peace and security.

Education has always been at the heart of that idea. And, like every enterprise we look upon as basic, it has helped build a free, dynamic society by unleashing the ideas and developing the talents of its people. Education then, is a primary pattern for progress.

AN IMPORTANT SEGMENT

The private colleges and universities that are educating the majority of this nation's Negro youth, form an important segment of that pattern. In a century of service they have been the major opportunity for progress, for one-tenth of the population.

But in that same hundred years, time and distances have been shortened. It matters greatly, at this moment in history, just how thoroughly and how quickly, America makes the most of all her resources.

That is why the future of this nation's private Negro colleges is part of the future of all Americans.

It was not easy for Americans like George Washington Carver, Booker T. Washington, James Weldon Johnson, Dorothy Maynor, Langston Hughes, to get an education. Nor was the way ever smooth for the colleges that made possible their rich contributions to our national life.

A PROUD RECORD

It took a special kind of hopefulness—a deep down faith that tomorrow would be better, to keep these institutions looking beyond the hardships they knew. But, spurred by their vision, they went on to achieve a proud record. For the majority of the outstanding Negro leaders in American life have been graduated by the private Negro college.

They have trained the teachers, lawyers, religious leaders, nurses, doctors, scientists, and skilled technicians who are helping to raise the living standards of a race, and thus those of the entire nation.

It is largely to these institutions and their graduates that we must look for significant contributions to the advancement of the nearly 15,000,000 Negro citizens toward the economic, education and health levels of the mass of Americans. Helping them to meet that task, is also a constructive step toward the solution of the whole problem of race relations in this country.

TODAY'S OPPORTUNITY

Six years ago, in the best traditions of the enterprising American spirit, a group of these colleges came together to cut a new pattern for financing education. Their operations threatened by mounting costs, they polled their resources to create this country's first educational community chest—the United Negro College Fund.

Business corporations, philanthropic foundations, educators, and other forward-looking individuals approve and support the Fund. Their contributions have helped the member colleges to provide more scholarship aid to deserving students—buy needed classroom and laboratory equipment—add books to libraries—meet teaching salaries—make repairs to long neglected physical plants.

Now, once again, these 32 private, accredited colleges and universities, training nearly 26,000 students, appeal for help in meeting 1950 operating expenses. The modest amount they seek—$1,400,000—represents but ten percent of their minimum educational budgets—that part not met by endowment, grant or tuition income. But, as it assures the effective use of the other ninety percent, it is the critical ten percent needed to keep these institutions in operation.

The Fund's seventh nation-wide campaign in support of these famous old colleges is everyone's opportunity to make a rewarding investment. Your gift will help provide a sound education for thousands of young Negro men and women—and pay dividends in better race relations.

Willard Townsend

Defender. Sat. 4-8-50

Real Battlefront For Civil Rights Is In The Communities Of Nation

TWO important phases of civil rights are on trial today in the communities of our nation and have been for some time. One phase is represented in the fair employment practices bills being introduced into the various state legislatures, and are a force directed toward the economic improvement of minorities and the better use of productive potentiality of the community. The other is housing. An opposing force to this phase of civil rights, in which social and economic interests are mingled, is represented by the action of various and sundry so-called "improvement associations," whose policies are dictated behind the scenes by real estate boards.

The historic argument for segregation in housing is that the admission of a minority family into the neighborhood depresses property values. Social snobbery has something to do with the practice. But if property values are depressed by admission of a Negro, Chinese or other minority family, the values were artificially high in the first place. They were based on a situation in violation of constitutional guarantees.

Though housing "covenants" have no legal standing, organized realtors, with the help of residents, have drawn lines which prevent minority people from trespassing in selected housing domains. The United States Supreme Court has upheld the rights of such peoples to buy houses where they can get them. The covenants, nonetheless, are generally effective in preventing such sales.

The term "discrimination" is defined as including "segregation" and describes as an unlawful employment practice the refusal to hire, to classify properly, to discharge, to require information on race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry of an applicant, or otherwise to discriminate on racial and religious grounds. The FEPC would be directed to carry out broad educational activities to encourage the employment of minority peoples—a program which might prove to be more effective than police power in the long haul in discouraging those subtleties of discrimination which no law can reach.

A big New York insurance firm which had hired no Negroes and a limited number of Jews, notified department heads and employment agencies after the law had gone into effect that its employment policy had been changed. The company invited previously rejected applicants to return for interviews. The New York commission reports virtual elimination of discriminatory help-wanted advertisements, increased employment of Negroes as salespeople, more jobs for Jews in insurance companies and financial houses.

Believe Bamangwatos Need Both Seretse Khama And His Uncle

Defender. Sat. 5-27-50

AT THE VERY beginning of Labor's second term of office, the Government has been shaken to its foundations, has drawn a barrage of criticism from all quarters of the world, and has aroused the indignation of its colored citizens in Britain and in the Empire, by its decision in the Seretse Khama case.

In 1925, Seretse Khama, grandson of Khama III, inherited the chieftainship. Since he was only four years old at the time, actual power was vested in his uncle, the Regent Tshekedi. The Regent proved an energetic and courageous leader of his people.

At one time, the British Government of the day sent a punitive expedition against him, because he insisted on flogging a white man for a violation of tribal law. By levying heavy taxes on his people, he established the only high school in the entire region.

At all times he acted with great firmness against any threat of the extension of South African influence over his people, and over Africans generally. It was with Tshekedi's ardent support that Seretse Khama went to Oxford University to complete his education; here he met and became engaged to Ruth Williams, an English girl.

As soon as Tshekedi heard of the impending marriage, he did all that he could to prevent it. Indeed, he bitterly criticizes the Commonwealth Relations Office of the British Government for not intervening to this purpose. Three considerations seem to have motivated Tshekedi.

First, as a militant nationalist, he looked down upon white people and regarded marriage with them as unworthy of his people, and particularly of a chief.

Second, he feared that intermarriage, once begun, would continue on a steadily increasing scale, and result in the breakup of the tribe as a community. He cited the Hottentots as a warning example — a once proud people who had been dispersed and reduced to menial work for South African masters.

Finally, and above all, he feared it would give South Africa another excuse for intervention in the affairs of the Bamangwato. But, in spite of Tshekedi's protests, Seretse Khama proceeded with the marriage.

Tshekedi went into voluntary exile with his supporters, and now maintains that hereditary rule should give way to a more democratic form of government for the Bamangwato and their associated tribes.

Actually, the decision of the British Government corresponds quite closely to Tshekedi's views. If the tribe still supported Tshekedi, the Government would be in a strong position. But it does not.

In the later years of his rule, Tshekedi had become more and more unpopular with his people. Conservative elements objected to his go-ahead policy; others disliked his high-handedness, bordering on benevolent despotism. The longer the British Government hesitated in making its decision, the more the people feared that Seretse Khama's ouster would result in Tshekedi's return to power.

Also, the simple issue of race prejudice became more and more dominant in their minds. The most recent vote in the tribal assembly went better than 5,000 to 50 against Tshekedi's position.

When British officials summonded another assembly to hear the Government's decision, only a handful of people turned up, and the tribe is now threatening to cease the payment of taxes.

Seretse Khama has responded very sensibly to criticism of himself and of the chieftainship as an institution. He asks only for the opportunity to take up his chieftainship for a probationary period of two years or so, during which time he pledges himself to cooperate fully in steps towards a greater degree of democracy and more equal rights for the subject tribes.

His friends are working for a reconciliation with Tshekedi. If this can be effected, the Government's stated case for its decision will fall to the ground.

Walter White

Predict Edith Sampson Will Do Excellent Job As Delegate To UN

ONE OF the toughest assignments of contemporary times is Mrs. Edith Sampson's as alternate delegate of the United States to the United Nations. Even though she was appointed as an alternate instead of a regular member of the American delegation, the responsibilities and pitfalls she faces are only a little less dangerous than they would be were she a full fledged spokesman. Even before she was officially named the heat was put on her by undue emphasis on her color and by such statements as the one that she was chosen primarily as Exhibit A in answer to Soviet exploitation of race prejudice in the United States.

It is the prediction of this observer that Mrs. Sampson will do an excellent job. She will be subjected to all manner of pressure from both sides of the color line and both sides of the international line. She will be the target of some whites for too great militancy and from some Negroes for not being militant enough. Probably most difficult for her will be resistance to subtle flatteries from whites who want to use her to soft pedal the race issue. We saw some of this kind of pressure from two or three members of the 'Round the World Town Hall seminar, most of which Mrs. Sampson immediately saw through. This was also true of the acts of some who were coming into contact at first hand with a Negro professional woman who had battled and conquered poverty and race prejudice to reach success as a lawyer.

Mrs. Sampson, my wife and I used to have some enjoyable sessions as we appraised the attention and surprise we encountered everywhere because of the intense interest of the peoples of other countries and continents in the race problem. It is because of the shrewd common sense she exhibited on that trip which makes it certain she won't be taken in very often nor fail to analyze correctly and swiftly the motives of those with whom she must deal.

Her first big hurdle is to demonstrate that she is at Lake Success not as a "Negro" representative but as one capable of speaking as an American who happens incidentally to be a Negro. The State Department is to be commended for choosing her and President Truman for appointing her because thereby a part of the myth of Negro Americans being totally excluded from American life except as servants and lynching victims will be destroyed. But from now on her value even in doing that depends, as Mrs. Sampson's wise comments on her appointment proves she understands, upon her ability to comprehend and help solve all of the problems with which the American delegation will be faced.

It has been something of a shock to hear the private comments of a few colored women on the appointment, some of them from persons who obviously believed that they and not Mrs. Sampson should have been named to the post. But that, too, will pass and be forgotten as Mrs. Sampson proves her ability and worth.

She is going to need all the help we can give her. Let's give that help without stint. One of the ways to help is to refrain from petty and captious criticism. Upon her success depends in considerable measure the opening of other opportunities to qualified Negroes just as Mrs. Sampson's appointment came about in part by the magnificent job done by Ralph Bunche. If opportunity comes to give encouragement and support to Mrs. Sampson and her fellow members of the United States delegation, let's give them. By so doing we will be helping ourselves.

In this place I told last summer about an extraordinary piece of quick thinking and gracious diplomacy by Mrs. Sampson in Karachi when she accepted a gift of $5,000 from the Pakistan Women's League and then promptly gave back the sum towards the work of the League. That is a sample of Mrs. Sampson's heart and mind at their best. Let's help her measure up as often as possible to that ideal.

Walter White

Movies' 'Social Content' Covers Multitude Of Sins

ARTHUR MAYER, New York theatre owner, is described by the Saturday Review of Literature as one "who has had a widely varied and distinguished career in the film industry" and one who "has been a consistent leader in trying to promote higher standards of production." Having just missed meeting Mr. Mayer on several occasions in various parts of the earth from Guam to Paris but knowing how courageously he has worked for more intelligent treatment of minorities in moving pictures and in life generally, I can add personal testimony to the SRL's somewhat restrained biographical note appended to Mr. Mayer's recent article, "Are Movies 'Better Than Ever?'"

For fear that you may not have seen the article, I quote a significant paragraph about pictures with "social content" which, of course, is considered by Hollywood to include any and all pictures dealing with the Negro. Mr. Mayer points out a factor—the possible effect on non-Americans during this period of hypersensitivity during the no longer cold war—which has had little consideration during the struggle for more honest treatment of minority problems. He writes:

"One of the most consistent handicaps to the production in Hollywood of films with social content has been the fear that such pictures could not or should not be shown abroad. Genuine social gains can occasionally be accomplished by projecting our soiled democratic linen on the American screen, but there is serious danger inherent in the foreign exploitation of such pictures. We received many letters of protest from Western European countries that "Gentlemen's Agreement" not only indicated anti-Semitism as rampant in upper-crust American life but also suggested forms in which it could be manifested hitherto unpracticed in those benighted communities. "Grapes of Wrath" was shown with thinly disguised glee in Eastern Europe under the title "This American Paradise!" "Snake Pit" was accompanied by official statements in many quarters that no such mistreatment of the weak-minded would be tolerated by them. I dread to anticipate the probable reaction to so faithful and undistorted a picture of mob violence and race hatred as "Intruder in the Dust." Enlightened people regard these films as a demonstration of democracy's incalculable privilege of self-improvement through self-criticism but the less understanding, abetted by a little Communist prompting, only see in them the failure of our institutions to live up to the high ideals we profess. Less courage will be required to produce honest movies about our mores if foreign revenue ceases to be a primary consideration in the mind of every promoter."

Mr. Mayer does not mention the fact that Hollywood's distorted picturization of the Negro, for example, from the beginning of the film industry to quite recent years has created resentment and misunderstanding all over the globe which in turn has contributed to the present world chaos and bitterness. But the point he makes that less tripe on celluloid will pour out of Hollywood and that the decimation of mink-lined swimming pools will cause agony among the hams and hamettes who have lolled in luxury are all to the good. Here's hoping that a presumably adult public which stayed away in droves from so great pictures as "Intruder in the Dust" will also be forced by necessity to mature along with Hollywood.

Walter White

Defender Sat. 11-4-50

Evil Forces Help Goad Frustrated People Into Discrimination, Article Reveals

A distinct departure from the general run of articles dealing with race and religious prejudice appears in the October issue of SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN.

It is also something of a novelty that this nearly one hundred-years-old magazine devoted to physical sciences should feature as its lead article one on the subject. Coolly objective studies of why men hate and what the terrible price America pays for prejudice in such books as Bucklin Moon's insufficiently read analysis of the dollars-and-cents cost of bigotry can do far more good in certain quarters than emotional or idealistic ones.

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN'S contribution is a statistical study by Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz of racial discrimination from the standpoint that hostility is the consequence of insecurity.

Mr. Bettelheim is associate professor of educational psychology and principal of the Orthogenic School of the University of Chicago and Mr. Janowitz is assistant professor of social science at the same university.

Examination of the attitudes of 150 veterans towards Jews and Negroes made by psychiatrically trained social workers experienced in public-opinion surveying revealed that the GIs who had had bad breaks in the army, or believed they had, were the mot virulent in their prejudices. But the reasons are somewhat different from those usually believed to be responsible.

In contrast with college students whose youthful rejection of authority is frequently combined with espousal of the rights of minorities, the veterans who expressed most vigorous faith in the Veterans Administration, the political party system, the Federal Government and the economic system as symbols of societal authority were among those with the most outspoken and intense anti-Semitism.

They report on the basis of their study of the 150 veterans that five times as many of them are tolerant towards Jews as compared to Negroes (61 per cent to 12 per cent); that nearly twice as many were outspoken in their dislike or derogation of Negroes as there were against Jews (74 per cent to 41 per cent); that four times as many were more intense in their hostility to Negroes than towards Jews (24 per cent to 6 per cent); and only in their harboring stereotyped views towards both minorities was there similarity (42 per cent towards Jews as against 40 per cent towards Negroes).

The relative economic power of Jews and Negroes, for example, might very well have influenced, consciously or otherwise, the answers. White, Protestant Gentiles are as addicted to Uncle Tomming when their jobs, credit rating and political ambitions are involved as are minorities.

As successful Negroes have learned all too often in the South when their prosperity was greater than that of their poor white neighbors, their progress made them the target of attack. The economic power of Jews, although greatly exaggerated, thus would accelerate hostility, if the thesis of Bettelheim and Janowitz is sound, although discretion in voicing that antagonism might make anti-Semites less vocal against Jews than against Negroes whom they do not fear as much.

Goebbels' and Hitler's foul propaganda against Jews and that of our American anti-Semites have taken deeper roots, I fear, than Bettelheim's and Janowitz' figures indicate.

But the basic tragedy is that hate, no matter whom it is directed against, is evil and dangerous. The more it is exposed in articles like this one and films like "No Way Out" as the disease it is and the sooner we recognize the manner in which economic, political, sectional and racial forces are deliberately using psychopathic and frustrated people for selfish ends, the better off America and the world will be.

Walter White

Race Hatred Of Psychotic Minnesotan Bared By Zanuck's Film "No Way Out"

FOR REASONS OF charity, which the writer of the letter I shall quote does not deserve, I want you to read a tirade which Daryl Zanuck of Twentieth Century-Fox recently received and which he has given me permission to print. This letter will illustrate the kind of abuse from psychotic, prejudice-ridden people to which the producer of a courageous film like "No Way Out" is subjected.

Defender

I suggest you place a bottle of smelling salts near at hand lest such insanity turn your stomach. Incidentally, the letter was not written from Mississippi, but from Minnesota. Here it is:

Sat. 10-28-50

"After reading Look's Movie Review of "No Way Out," I'm mad enough to tear you apart. What's the matter with you, nigger lover; are you sick in the head? If you like the niggers so well, why don't you move over to Harlem. I've still got my choice and I live in a white section. I don't want my children playing with a little black ——, or going to school with them either. I don't ever want to catch my daughter dancing with a black —— of a —— at a school dance, or any dance for that matter. All the propaganda in the world couldn't change me and surely your (probable) government sponsored movie won't do anything but make me hate niggers and nigger lovers more.

"America has always been 'the strongest' segregated. Now with this form of degeneration going on, anything may happen. Thanks to you.

"Go back to New York City if you want to see what comes of mixing white with black. See all the white women and black niggers walking the streets; go to the school and college dances and see the mixed dancing. What always follows dancing Mr. Zanuck? That's right, inter-dating.

"They say a lot of producers are queer???"

Sincerely,

"P.S. What country will respect a 'mongrel race' or horde of molatoes. Is that a good advertisement for democracy? How about these thousands of black bastard babies left in Europe. That's one good reason why democracy is making no headway in Europe.

"Damn you X nigger-lover!!!"

Walter White

'Lily White' Senator Sinks to New Low In Character Assassination Attempts—White

THE IGNOMINIOUS depths to which partisan politics and character assassination have sunk in Congress has never been illustrated so sharply as it has by the attack on Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman by Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel of Kansas. By the time this column appears in print it is probable that the nasty episode will be closed by public condemnation of the attempted smear and especially by Mr. Chapman's two-fisted slugging reply to Schoeppel's vile and unsubstantiated allegations that the Interior Secretary has been associated with subversive organizations.

But neither Mr. Schoeppel nor his party should be permitted to forget that Americans—particularly Negro Americans—will not forget his effort to destroy the reputation of one of the few cabinet officers who has never failed to fight race or any other kind of prejudice. For race was one of the chief ingredients of the foul brew concocted by the Kansas Senator and others who, along with Eastland of Mississippi, opposed statehood for Hawaii because it is not a "white" place. This motley crew has used every trick of political shenanigans to prevent admission of Hawaii and Alaska as states because they do not want to see dark skinned Senators from those places sitting in the lily white Senate chamber.

Oscar Chapman has worked for years to secure admission to the union of those two territories. He did so as a matter of justice and right. He had not forgotten, as had Schoeppel and Eastland, the brilliant fight and the appalling losses suffered in Italy by the Hawaiian soldiers during the late war which won them world-wide fame for their heroism. He has long been aware of the crucial role which Alaska may play in defense of the United States in the event of an attack from that direction. He knew as does every informed person who has not been blinded by partisan politics or race prejudice that Hawaiians and Alaskans will be far better and more loyal fighters for democracy if they share the benefits of democracy.

He also knew that race prejudice again was being used as a cloak for sinister economic reasons to keep the two territories out of the benefits of statehood. Certain fishing, shipping, lumber and other interests have been trying for months to induce some senators to smear Mr. Chapman as a means of sabotaging and destroying the movement, which was obviously so close to victory, to grant statehood. Only the hapless Schoeppel—hapless in the light of the drubbing Mr. Chapman gave him before a Senate committee—was stupid and unscrupulous enough to let the enemies of Hawaii and Alaska put such a speech in his mouth.

Negroes and all other Americans concerned with civil rights and ordinary human decency should pour the vials of their wrath on Schoeppel for his below-the-belt attack on the man who has fought so uncompromisingly and incessantly against race prejudice. It was Oscar Chapman more than any other person who was responsible for the Marian Anderson concert at Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday, 1939. It was he who set the example for all governmental agencies in Washington by smashing racial discrimination in government cafeterias. It was he who opened up tennis courts and swimming pools to Negroes in Washington, doing so with such skill and firmness that bigots were squelched before they got started. It was Oscar Chapman who has fought for the hiring and promotion of government employees on the basis of ability and not of race, creed, color or national origin. Do you wonder, therefore, why the Eastlands and their ilk are delighted at finding a Schoeppel willing to do their hatchet work to injure and, if possible, destroy an Oscar Chapman who fights bigots and profiteers?

In addition to everything else in this discreditable episode is the way in which Schoeppel miscalculated Chapman's gentle and modest disposition. I have known him for twenty years or more and never have seen his face without a smile on it nor heard him speak except in the most dulcet of tones. Chapman's face was unsmiling and there was no softness in his voice when he grimly threw punch after punch at the amazed and dismayed Kansas Senator. Not one blow missed its mark as was proved shortly afterwards when even the Republican Policy Committee washed its hands of the Schoeppel slander. It wasn't a good week for Schoeppelling. Chapman doughtily saw to that.

Walter White

'No Way Out' A Picture Scarcely Without Equal

AS READERS of this column may remember I was not half enthusiastic about "Pinky" as Darryl Zanuck and a majority of the critics. Thus it is a great privilege to commend to you without reservation "No Way Out." With a courage and clarity of vision which has been matched by Hollywood only once or twice in the history of picture making Mr. Zanuck has stripped the mask of brutality, ignorance and hypocrisy from the face of racial bigots.

The story of "No Way Out" is simple and to the point. A young Negro doctor played simply and movingly by Sidney Poitier joins the staff of a city hospital which could be one in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit or Philadelphia. His chief is a man of warm human decency who cares nothing about the color of skin of any member of his staff but is concerned only with his ability as a doctor. Two cheap gangsters sought by the police in an attempted holdup arrive at the hospital for treatment and are attended by the Negro doctor. One of them who has a superficial leg wound dies during a spine-tapping treatment because the doctor has accurately diagnosed him as suffering from a brain tumor. The other gangster, the dead man's brother, as vicious and ignorant a punk as one would find on Halsted Street in Chicago, accuses the Negro doctor of deliberately murdering the dead man.

Thus is set in motion a chain of drama, at times reaching melodrama so poignant that the spectator can hardly breathe because of excitement. I do not propose to spoil your enjoyment of the film by telling you here how the story turns out.

There are those—including perhaps some Negroes—who will claim that the story is overdrawn in certain episodes. As one who has had frequent contact with lynchers and race rioters may I bear witness to the fact that not one episode in "No Way Out" is overdrawn. One colored friend of mine, who was at the preview I saw, half seriously and half jokingly questioned whether Negroes ever worked so unitedly together or were all on time as is the case when the colored people in the film organized to pro-

tect themselves from the impending attack of the white mob. Another person, also colored, wondered if Negroes ever would act as those in the film did without at least one of them running off to tell "the white folks" what the Negroes were planning. But those criticisms were on the facetious side.

I beg of you to see and to urge your friends to see, especially white friends, "No Way Out." All the bigots and the faint-hearted are going to be infuriated by the film. Thus decent people will have to make up for the attacks which the uncompromising courage of the film may bring. I learned to my amazement and sorrow that another great film "Intruder in the Dust" did not make as much money as Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer expected. Let's don't let this happen to "No Way Out."

Walter White

Banning 'No Way Out' Would Be Silly If It Weren't So Stupid

IF IT WERE NOT SO stupid, action of the Chicago Police Censor in banning 20th Century-Fox' great film, "No Way Out," would be downright silly. Even Birmingham, Alabama, has had fewer bombings and other mob attacks on Negro homes than has Chicago. The Chicago police department has been but little more effective than has Birmingham's under the notorious Negrophobe and Dixiecrat, Bull Connor, in catching and punishing criminals who have bombed or otherwise destroyed houses occupied or about to be occupied by Negroes, even when they had been erected by the federal or city governments at the taxpayers' expense.

Yet, it is a representative of this same police department who refuses permission to Chicagoans to see the hardest hitting film yet made which exposes some of the reasons why men hate their fellowmen enough to organize lynching mobs to kill them.

It is because Chicago has so many psychotic bigots like Ray Biddle, played so magnificently by Richard Widmark in "No Way Out," that Chicago needs to see the picture as much as the residents of Birmingham or darkest Mississippi. For the police censor to say that the film might cause riots is ridiculous. Chicago's riot record proves that such a development would be carrying coals to Newcastle with a vengeance.

If the ban stands, Chicago will sink to the level of Memphis so far as censorship of films involving Negroes are concerned. Crumptown has been made the butt of scorn and ridicule for many years because of its 82-year-old one-man censor board who banned an "Our Gang" comedy because white and colored children playing together constituted "social equality." As a matter of grim fact, Chicago's inexplicable action can do far more harm. Nobody expects anything but bigotry and stupidity to emanate from the Memphis censor. But the entire South and even other sections of the country may gleefully follow Chicago's example and thereby frighten Hollywood into giving up the making of decent race relations pictures. Southern communities will gleefully explain away their guilt complex by excusing their ban on pictures by saying that they were only following precedents set by cities like Chicago.

What can ordinary mortals like you and me do to stop such a trend before it gathers momentum and sweeps the country? News of the Chicago censor's action was given me by Conrad Clark, the newspaper correspondent of the NNPA, as I was about to speak at a testimonial luncheon to 20th Century-Fox at New York's Ritz Carlton Hotel for producing "No Way Out."

Copious praise of the film had been voiced by such distinguished Americans as Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing, New York Attorney General Nathaniel Goldstein and former Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson. A highly commendatory scroll was about to be given to Spyros Skouras, President of 20th Century-Fox when the shocking news arrived.

A vigorous telegram of protest to Mayor Kennelly of Chicago was swiftly and unanimously approved by the distinguished audience which included representatives of the six national organizations housed in the Wendell Willkie Memorial Building who sponsored the luncheon of thanks to the makers of "No Way Out."

Each individual present was urged to send a similar message and to get others to do so. National organizations pledged their aid to their Chicago branches to roll up so great a volume of local protest against the censorial stupidity as to force reversal of the ban.

But the major burden rests squarely on the shoulders and consciences of Chicagoans themselves. If they can be gratuitously insulted by their police censor and city administration by the charge that they are so feeble-minded and emotionally unstable that they will break out into rioting after seeing a searing expose of how rioting is fomented, then the people of Chicago are far less intelligent than they are known to be.

Walter White

Houston Helped Close The Gap Between Talk And Implementation Of Democracy

I HAVE just come back from the funeral of a very great human being. He was, of course, my beloved friend, Charley Houston. No American of his generation did more than he—few did anywhere nearly as much—to narrow the gap between glib American talk about democracy and actual implementation. He crowded into a short life—a life which might have lasted many more years than it did as Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson pointed out today in his funeral address had not Charley worked so hard for others—more specific accomplishment for the benefit of mankind than any other man I know.

We who loved him are bowed in grief. But somehow or other I have the feeling that Charley would have preferred to go out in the full bloom of his great gifts of mind and heart than to have stayed on, unable to operate at top speed because his great and generous heart had been overtaxed. We spent an hour with Charley one Sunday afternoon in February. In the quarter of a century we had been close friends I had never before seen him so full of plans and ideas to press with even greater vigor and efficiency the fight to wipe out every remaining vestige of segregation in education and labor relations.

He dismissed as unimportant my injunction that he should not go back to work too soon. When the shocking news of his death came I remembered his words which, at the time, seemed totally devoid of premonition of death. "There's so much to do—and so little time," were the words he spoke in his impatience to get back into the fight to which he gave such unselfish devotion.

Bill Hastie's brilliant obituary which grief twice made it difficult for him to deliver brought back poignant and exciting memories of some of the dramatic battles Charley had fought and won. There came recollection of the George Crawford case in Virginia where feeling against the man who was charged with murder of two white women ran so high that the State of Virginia supplied police protection from the District of Columbia line to Leesburg each morning and back again each evening to prevent mob violence. No Negro dared give Charley and the other colored lawyers—Leon Ransom, Edward Lovett and James Tyson—food or shelter. But so courageous and able was the defense that at first grudgingly and then wholeheartedly the community manifested approval of the first colored lawyers many of them had ever seen.

The Crawford case, at Charley's insistence, set a precedent which has been of untold value to Negro lawyers. Even their own people up to that time in the South had refused to retain colored lawyers because of their lack of experience. But they had been unable to obtain experience because they had not been hired. Charley argued that lawyers should be given opportunity regardless of race on the basis of their ability. Many Negroes criticized assignment of the case to an all-colored defense. But Charley's ability and courage along with that of his associates rebuked such fears and misapprehensions. I shall never forget the comment of a grim-faced Virginia mountaineer who remarked, as Charley won a vital legal point, "You gotta give it to him—he's damn smart even if he is a nigger!"

The same courage, meticulous attention to every detail of every legal case, and reckless disregard of his own health or economic advantage characterized his every act. Such were his reputation as a jurist and his capacity for work he could have earned three or four times his income had he chosen to concentrate on making money instead of devoting the majority of his time in, to quote his father, "saving the race." It is because of this that the spontaneous action of graduates of the University of Maryland Law School to raise a voluntary endowment fund to educate Charley's infant son ought to be generously supported by every American who loves freedom. If every Negro school teacher who enjoys a higher salary and greater security because of the uncompensated service of Charley Houston and men like Bill Hastie, young Charley's future will be secure. But over and above what we do to show our gratitude to the departed Charley by insuring the education of his son is the opportunity to demonstrate to the future Charley Houstons we must have to finish his work that gratitude is more than a word found only in the dictionary.

Donald Murray of the famous first University of Maryland case is chairman of the temporary committee which is to be enlarged into a nation-wide one. Juanita Jackson Mitchell is secretary and Donald B. Watts, treasurer. Checks should be made payable to the Charles H. Houston Fund and sent to 402 Dolphin st., Baltimore. Mail yours today in lieu of tears for one of our greatest benefactors.

Jamaica's Poverty And Squalor Equal To That In Calcutta

KINGSTON, JAMAICA

TOMORROW a Pan-American Clipper will transport us in three hours to the United States and in seven hours to New York. Already it will seem like a decade for each of those seven hours in comparison of the economic, political, education, health and social status of the 25,000 Jamaicans who live in what is called "Back o' Wall" with that of even the most impoverished sharecropper in darkest Mississippi.

Until this afternoon the most sickening and disheartening exhibition of poverty and human misery we had seen anywhere in the world was that of Calcutta last August. If the slums of Jamaica do not take the place of India's most miserable city, they occupy equal rank with Calcutta.

Here is what we have just seen. When the car turned into Marcus Garvey Boulevard we thought we had come upon the city dump. As far as eye could see were unkempt mounds of what appeared to be waste paper, rusted automobile frames and other refuse. We wondered why Mr. Fairclough, the very sensitive and intelligent editor of "Public Opinion" had stopped the car until we saw children peeping out of the mounds of rubbish. We could not believe human beings could possibly survive in such conditions until suddenly our car was surrounded with men, women and children who told us with pathetic resignation and remarkably little bitterness the facts of their existence.

So sickened were we by what we saw and heard it was most difficult for Mrs. White and me to comply with the request of one of the workers at nearby Boys' Town, run by the Rev. Hugh Sherlock, that we say a few words to the children. What honest words could be spoken which would not make them more miserably conscious of their lot? Our fumbling words, however, were listened to attentively by a better behaved group of boys than would be encountered in almost any school in the United States. They were pathetically grateful that anyone was concerned enough about their welfare to do nothing more than come to see them.

Neither government nor business interests seem aware that the seeds of crime and communism will inevitably find deeper roots in such evil conditions or that enlightened self-interest makes it imperative that they do something. Only the energetic Lady Molly Huggins is aware of the need for action and she will be leaving Jamaica in August when her husband's term as governor ends.

There is one bright spot in the picture—the far-sighted, courageous program of the Peoples National Party under the leadership of Norman Manley. He physically resembles and his mind operates with much of the clarity and idealism which characterizes Pandit Nehru of India. Since the political awakening of Jamaicans during the past thirteen years, the PNP has been a minority party to the BITU which is led by the mercurial, flamboyant W. A. ("I am the government") Bustamante. The latter's reign appears to be swiftly approaching an end. His old magic of making bitter attacks on the British and the capitalists and then doing their bidding no longer works as the voters turn in increasing numbers to Mr. Manley for hope and guidance. I don't envy him the task of finding the answer to the problems of those who live Back o' Wall and those of the rest of the 1,300,000 Jamaicans. If anybody can find that answer, Norman Manley will.

Walter White

Nature Has Done Good Job In West Indies, But Man Has Failed Somewhere

OCHO RIOS, Jamaica, B. W. I.—The heavily-wooded and flowered path led steeply downward from the lovely house where we are guests to the swimming pool, which is kept full and fresh by a thorty-foot-high waterfall. Wild orchids, poinsettia, giant and fragrant bell flowers were no more colorful than the amazingly golden sunshine sieved through the trees, nor the hummingbirds and butterflies which speckled the air. It was a moment of such Garden-of-Eden beauty that our first emotion on seeing a figure standing by the pool was one of resentment that our first sight of the spot was not alone.

The "intruder" whose embarrassment we had to allay was a boy of fifteen, the son of the cook on a neighboring estate. His face of a deep golden brown combined Asia, Africa and Europe, in an unbelievably handsome amalgam. Sensitive brown eyes mirrored the sudden awakening from not completed dreams which our arrival had caused.

Shy eagerness clothed his answers to our questions on the name of this flower or that tree, all of which he seemed to know as though they were old and trusted friends.

The questions we asked him about his education answered for us also the reason for an avalanche of letters from young and old Jamaicans begging us to take them back to the States. His replies also explained to us why white and near-white faces here and in some other Caribbean islands which are under colonial rule are stared at with surliness and hostility by dark skinned Jamaicans. What the young man told us beside the pool without knowing how much he was revealing is part of the same story we had heard in Asia and Africa — of the results of three centuries of colonial plundering, based on the need of raw materials and labor to build our modern mechanized civilization and justified by theories and philosophies of "superior" and "inferior" races.

From here and Asia and Africa the cream of the wealth has flowed to Europe and the United States, leaving only the crumbs for the native populations. Night before last we saw a graphic example of the process. Men, women and children loaded bananas on a ship. As each was paid by the number of "stems" he loaded and because unemployment here made competition keen, the workers seized the huge burdens, rushed to the dipping vat, and then scurried aboard. By the side of the road in the shadows children too small to work or left at home chewed on bananas too small or ripe to ship.

The handsome lad beside the pool occupies a place different in degree but not essentially in kind from the banana loader's child. Thanks to a hardworking mother who earns two pounds sterling a week ($5.60) and pays nine pounds for tuition, he is attending high school which very few Jamaicans can afford. The color bar is less rigid and apparent here than American whites have tried to make it in places like the Virgin Islands, Haiti, Bermuda and Cuba. But when it comes to getting a job and putting one's education to use and profit, there aren't many jobs for whites, mulattoes or blacks with the chances of success descending in that order. Mississippi sharecroppers have more of a chance than many of the people here.

It would be less lacerating to one's conscience if he could shrug off and forget the dilemma of the handsome boy by the pool and those, as lawyers call them, similarly situate. We cannot. Unless better fortune attends him than is the case with most young Jamaicans, he will find himself in the same position as the 20-year-old graduate who wrote us a heartbreakingly eloquent letter about the blind alley in which he is caught. How gratifying it would be if successful West Indians in the United States, assisted by American-born Negroes and whites, could step up their scholarship aid to train more of these talented young people.

What has happened and what is happening to people in this area of the world should be of far greater concern to citizens of the United States, particularly Negroes, than is the case. What happens here is immensely important in the growing world struggle against colonialism and racism.

Walter White

FEPC Flop Should Not Bring Discouragement, But Hard Work

FRUSTRATION and bitterness at the sellout on cloture are understandable and inevitable for all of those who worked so long and hard for an FEPC.

Unlike previous years, this time representatives of the A. F. L. and C. I. O., church groups and organizations like the A. D. A. were on the job fighting doggedly up to the hour of the cloture vote on May 13th.

It took all sorts of behind-the-scenes deals to beat back the FEPC. Drew Pearson published in his syndicated column two days before the vote that Senator Taft had made an agreement with Senator Russell of Georgia to arrange for enough Republican votes against cloture and enough Republican absentees to insure defeat. The Ohio Presidential hopeful bitterly and unequally denied this.

It is, however, interesting to say the least, that five of the six Republicans named by Pearson did vote against cloture. Mr. Taft did not deny that he planned, had cloture been voted, to move to substitute his and Congressman McConnell's toothless FEPC bill for the McGrath measure and then going to the country next autumn with the claim that that was all which could be enacted in the face of Dixiecrat opposition and administration weakness.

The Democratic record is very bad. They voted 26 to 19 against cloture, 23 of the votes coming from Southerners.

Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, facing stiff opposition and needing every vote he can muster, Negro as well as white, was excused just before the cloture vote to campaign.

A long distance telephone call to ask him to return to Washing long enough to vote for cloture could not be answered by him because he was "in conference."

Late in the evening of the day before the crucial vote the operator informed me that Senator Thomas had left by automobile for Stillwell but could be reached there the following morning—too late to be back to Washington in time.

Bill Boyle, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, was similarly inaccessible in Leavenworth, Kansas. Senator Chavez of New Mexico, who introduced the original FEPC bill and whose record hitherto has been excellent on the issue, went home to make a speech for his brother who is running for governor.

Senator Edward Johnson of Colorado, who also has always voted for FEPC and cloture, this time voted against it, reputedly as the result of pressure from Senator Kerr of Oklahoma who is pursuing a vendetta against Truman for vetoing Kerr's natural gas bill.

Senator Withers of Kentucky abstained from voting against cloture but he did not vote for it either. Only Senator Murray of Montana who was en route home to bury his wife had an excusable reason for absence.

However deep may be resentment against the fiasco, the only way to recoup our loss is to fight harder than ever before. At times, however, one is tempted to believe that only a miracle can wake up those who are most concerned or should be in their own self-interest with passage of the FEPC bill.

We must inundate Washington with unequivocal protests against the sell-out and our insistence that FEPC be kept on the Senate calendar and Congress kept in session until it is voted on.

We must insist that the infamous Wherry "comprimise" resolution requiring the affirmative vote of 64 Senators be amended to permit cloture by the vote of two-thirds of the Senators actually voting.

We must hold both major political parties strictly accountable for failure as well as each individual Senator on the basis of his record not only in voting but in all other activities for or against the measure.

We must step up registration and voting on a strictly nonpartisan basis, especially in pivotal Southern states now that the NAACP has smashed down the barriers to voting.

Of equal importance is the absolute necessity of taking our story to Americans who are not Negro, Jewish, Catholic, foreign born or members of any other minority which habitually suffers from discrimination.

Let's enlist them in the fight.

Walter White

Capsule Criticism Of Books Liked And Disliked

MAY I GIVE you a few capsule criticisms of some books I have recently enjoyed (or not liked):

KILLERS OF THE DREAM by Lillian Smith, published by W. W. Norton of New York. Read it and rejoice that so able a Southerner has psychoanalyzed the South in all its hopes and fears and frustrations.

SOUTHERN LEGACY by Hodding Carter, published by the Louisiana State University Press. Read it and weep at the passing of a Southern "liberal" who wants the North to "leave us alone" while Carter lectures and writes for magazines at fat fees on how courageous and advanced his thinking is.

THIS I REMEMBER by Eleanor Roosevelt, published by Harper & Bros., New York. A passionate, frank and utterly honest story told with disarming simplicity of what happened behind and in front of the curtain from the day Franklin D. Roosevelt sat down in the Governor's chair in Albany, New York, to the day of his death in Warm Springs, Georgia. She doesn't admit or even appear to be aware of it, but most of the good things were partially or wholly inspired by her. An inexplicable omission, however, is the story of the bloodless revolution so far as the American Negro's status is concerned for which she did so much.

BLACK AND WHITE by Martin Flavin, also published by Harper's. The story of an African journey as perceptive, if not more so, and as beautifully written as Andre Gide's memorable VOYAGE TO THE CONGO. Mr. Flavin traveled through French Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo, Uganda, the Rhodesias, Bechuanaland (where Seretse Khama lived until the British Labor Government banished him for marrying a white Englishwoman), the notorious Union of South Africa and neighboring places. He tells what he saw, heard and felt with eloquence and honesty.

BEETLECREEK by William Demby, published by Rinehart of New York. Mr. Demby is the second good GI writer of color to come out of World War II. The first was, of course, William Gardner Smith, who wrote LAST OF THE CONQUERORS. Mr. Demby's story of the evil men's minds can conjure up out of a case of segregation in reverse has the impact of a howitzer.

A FREE AND RESPONSIBLE PRESS, the report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press with a forword by Robert M. Hutchins. If every American editor, white and Negro, read the Europe and fortells what will happen in the United States if analysis of what is wrong and what is right in American journalism and took its recommendations to heart, perhaps the press could regain some of its lost prestige and at the same time avoid government regulation, which is inevitable if present evils are permitted to continue.

SOCIALIST BRITAIN by Francis Williams, published by the Viking Press, New York. A dispassionate, factual account of the background, present and an estimate of the future of Socialist but non-Communist Britain. It will cause the hackles to rise on the necks of the Republicrats and the National Association of Manufacturers, but it tells clearly what is happening in things keep on going as they have since 1914. Contains a revealing and apparently unconscious differentiation of "colored" peoples in Asia and Africa.

CHALLENGING YEARS by the late Stephen S. Wise, published by Putnam, New York. This is chiefly notes for the stirring autobiography of the great Jewish leader and one of the founders of the NAACP which he would have written had not death cut him down.

SOUTHERN POLITICS by V. O. Key, Jr., published by Alfred A. Knopf of New York. An exhaustive (and at times, exhausting) story of what has happened to the nation and to the South at the hands of the assorted and sometimes fearsome characters who have strutted the Southern political stage. Its chief weakness it its failure to recognize the direct and the indirect impact of Negro political action in the John J. Parker fight and the court battles against disfranchisement devices like the "Grandfather Clause," the white primary cases, the poll tax, so-called understanding clauses and mob intimidation.

THE MYSTERY OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD by Albert Schweitzer, published by MacMillan of New York. A tender, down-to-earth account by the great missionary doctor in Africa of the reasons why Jesus rejected the role of Messiah until just before his death and preferred to serve as teacher and prophet. Reading Dr. Schweitzer's book will give you a vastly different concept of Jesus and his motivation from that you hear from your pastor (if you go to church, that is).

Walter White

Despite Odds, Haiti Winning Long Fight To Sustain Itself

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti—A proud and sensitive people literally pulling themselves out of the mire of poverty and prejudice is the hackneyed but accurate story of what is going on here under the leadership of President Dumarsais Estime.

Less than a year ago many of the people, especially in the rural areas of this excitingly beautiful country, seemed to be clothed chiefly in patched garments—immaculately clean but nevertheless rags. Today one almost never sees such barges of poverty on women and men working in the fields.

When we were here last June many of the people seemed less healthy, as well they might on a rice-beans diet. Now they appear to be better nourished and more energetic. If the latter be possible, for nowhere in the tropics around the world have we encountered human beings who toil through the noonday sun as they do here.

Haiti economically is a long way from being out of the woods. She has had almost no outside financial assistance in contrast with the aid which has been given to European countries. She lacks funds to develop her not inconsiderable agricultural and mineral resources.

But despite all these handicaps President Estime has pushed ahead in raising income and living standards of his people. He was infuriated when we told him of stories being circulated in the United States that one "has to pay off to do business in Haiti." He asked that any person who has evidence of any Haitian official asking or receiving bribes be reported directly to him.

Next year's total budget of the government will be 90,000,000 gourdes ($18,000,000) which is pathetically inadequate to meet the needs of nearly 4,000,000 citizens. Most convincing proof that graft and inefficiency have been kept to a minimum is the visible record of improvements accomplished by the Estime administration.

More than 50,000 acres of land have been cleared and made available for agriculture while an additional 100,000 acres will soon be cultivatable, thanks to a loan from the Export-Import Bank. Needed roads and bridges are being constructed and others are planned. Improvement and extension of raising and marketing her excellent coffee, cocoa, long staple cotton, fruits, sisal, sugar and rum is aggressively under way.

Walter White

South Can't Escape Race Showdown—White

KOREA HAS brought the United States face to face with the global race question far sooner than even the best informed Americans believed would be the case. The time for decision is thus moved forward to the degree where even the Dixiecrats cannot escape facing the inevitable showdown. American mothers and fathers whose boys have been mowed down or who will be slaughtered in Korea are going to be awakened — that is your job and mine — to the bitter truth that a very considerable part of the cause of those needless deaths is the flaming resentment of non-white peoples all over the world against racial bigotry here in the United States and in places like Asia and Africa. Bloody chickens are coming home to roost on the stars and stripes.

Even Senators are waking up. It was interesting to hear, during the impending debate on cloture on FEPC, Senator after Senator echo what has been said again and again during recent years about the disastrous effect of race prejudice on American prestige and security. Even the blabbermouth Southerners seemed uncomfortably aware of the emptiness of their words as they spouted about the FEPC being "communist inspired." Senator Richard Russell of Georgia telegraphed wordily in reply to a telegram I sent him, in which I deliberately put him on the spot by pointing out that the "disastrous luxury" of a filibuster at this grave crisis in world affairs would still further jeopardize America's fate in Korea. Russell tried to claim that unity could and should be achieved only by dropping so "communist" a proposal as FEPC.

To my rejoinder that he was playing the communist game and serving the cause of Russia by alleging that only communists and not believers in democracy favored guaranteeing to every man the right to work at the job he was fitted to do, Russell had no answer. Nor could he or any other anti-civil rights Senator answer the charge that scuttling of FEPC and Judge Myers' decision upholding discrimination in places of public accommodation in the capitol of "the world's greatest democracy" served the communist cause more effectively than any other action.

Harry Paxton Howard, in AMERICA'S ROLE IN ASIA, published in 1943 by Howell, Soskin, tells the depressing, heartbreaking story of why the Koreans are fighting so savagely against American troops. In the chapter titled "Korea, A People Betrayed" he recites how that small country was coldbloodedly betrayed by the late Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft to Japan in 1905 in exchange for promises that the Japanese would not attack or attempt to capture the Philippines. It took forty-five years for the Koreans to take revenge. Today they strike back with all the pent-up fury of nearly half a century of brooding resentment. The news of successful filibusters to kill legislation against race prejudice and of decisions upholding discrimination in Washington will be supplied, you can be sure, over and over again with embellishments by the Soviet radio to Korea and all of Asia.

You can be equally sure that neither Russia, Great Britain nor any other except the United States will tell Asians, Africans and Latin Americans the facts about the Supreme Court decisions of June 5 and many others in that court, racial integration in the American armed services, how the United States made and kept its promise of independence to the Philippines, and the Point Four program which will be financed chiefly by American funds. The United States is doing a scandalously poor job of presenting its side of the picture, chiefly because the State Department and the U. S. Information Service have to tread softly, especially on the race question, lest it antagonize Congress and suffer reduced appropriations.

As a result, therefore, of longstanding errors of omission and commission here at home, the twin evils of racism and colonialism have put the United States and the white world as a whole in the perilous position they have been in within the past three centuries. Few Americans yet realize how fortunate they are that India and Pakistan had the great courage to take a stand on Korea and thereby, among many other things, minimize the racial angle in the present imbroglio.

Walter White

The Senator From Ohio's Tactics Termed Unethical

SENATOR Robert A. Taft of Ohio has built himself a solid reputation, even among his enemies, of blunt honesty. This has been done partly by his speaking out frankly on a wide variety of issues on which a more cautious politician would remain discreetly silent or evasive. Partly it has been created by adroit publicity which the Senator can well afford, such as the handsome brochure explaining (or trying to explain) to Negro voters how gallant a champion he is of their rights and interests.

But there is another side to the picture which even the most clever and expensive public relations job cannot explain or conceal. It is the practice of the Ohio Senator in making sensational charges and then wrapping himself in a cloak of silence when called upon to produce the facts on which his charges were based. Time and time again he has gotten away with such unethical tactics by reliance on some other newsworthy and headline-making event distracting the attention of a gullible public. Such is the swift flow of news these days across the printed page and over the radio that Mr. Taft, on a considerable number of labor, economic, political and racial issues, has gotten away with murder.

Of such a piece is his alleged talk to a meeting of Elks at Dayton, Ohio, as reported in the June 17 Cleveland **Call and Post** that certain "high NAACP officials" had told him they were satisfied with Taft's toothless FEPC, but that they had to demand publicly a bill with full enforcement powers. When an Ohio NAACP member read Taft's statement in the Cleveland **Call and Post**, which is not unfriendly to Mr. Taft's campaign for re-election, he telegraphed me at Boston, where the Forty-first Annual Conference was then in session. I asked and was given permission by the convention to demand in its name from Mr. Taft that he make public the names of the "high NAACP officials" who he alleged had made such statements to him, as well as the time, place and exact words.

When no reply came, I asked Western Union to check and report on whether our telegram had been delivered to Mr. Taft and received written assurance that it had been delivered. I then wired again the text of the demand for facts which had been sent from Boston and repeated our request for the facts. Again, total silence was our answer.

On July 14, I telegraphed a third message, reading:

"At the instruction of the Committee on Administration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I am requesting a third time the basis for the statement attributed to you by Cleveland **Call and Post** of June 17 in a speech before Elks' State Association at Dayton, Ohio, that 'high NAACP officials told you frankly that a (toothless) FEPC bill was desirable, but that they (high NAACP officials) must insist on all or nothing regarding FEPC.' If you were correctly quoted, you have made a serious charge against integrity and loyalty to Association's principles against one or more of the top officials of this Association. We insist, therefore, that the only honorable procedure for you to follow is either to name the official you are quoted as making such statements to you, giving full details, or publicly to apologize. Any other procedure can only be interpreted as your making charges for which there is no foundation in truth. We are loathe to believe that a man of your reputation for integrity and forthrightness would be guilty of making serious charges such as are attributed to you and so far as we know undenied to date without foundation in fact. To insure that this comes to your attention, we are requesting Western Union to deliver this telegram to you personally and to secure your personal signature for it."

Negro voters of Ohio — and decent white ones, too — await his answer. So also do the voters of the nation await it in anticipation of the presidential elections in 1952. Mr. Taft may believe that he can get away with the basic contempt he has demonstrated for the intelligent and length of memory of Negro voters in this and other instances. If he does, he is in gross error. At least in this column the issue will never be permitted to be forgotten until it is settled by honesty and truth.

Walter White

3 News Items Illustrate Painfully The Fear Scene From 'Lost In Stars'

HERE ARE three news items which illustrate painfully the scene in "Lost in the Stars" where two choruses, one white and one colored on opposite sides of the stage sing, "it is fear . . . it is fear . . . it is fear!"

Claude Pepper, harried by George Smathers' blistering attack Pepper for not being as bigoted as he, rushed up and down Florida proclaiming his undying opposition to FEPC and his conformity with all other Southerners in belief in segregation. To his credit, the defeated Florida Senator is far more liberal and intelligent on the race issue and human rights than his recent campaign and that of 1944 indicate. To his discredit, he ignored the lesson of President Truman's election in 1948. Mr. Truman bluntly told the country he was unequivocally for civil rights and was not going to run under fire. It was that stand which, above all else, commanded respect and the support of many thousands of so-called "little people" and put him back into the White House.

Granting that the situation in Florida is not typical of the country as a whole, Mr. Pepper might have won even greater support not only from Florida's 105,000 Negro voters but of others who would have respected courage. Had he been defeated anyhow, at least he would have gone down with colors flying and integrity unsullied. But fear got him.

Item Two:

By a vote of 8 to 3 the U.N. Human Rights Commission voted, May 3rd, against individual appeal for redress of grievance and 7 to 4 against non-governmental organizations' right to file complaints. These two votes thereby restrict remedial action and the right to ask for investigation and correction of abuses to member nations. Can you imagine Malan of South Africa asking investigation of the treatment of the native population there or permitting such enquiry? Or England into conditions in Nigeria? Or Russia in Siberia? Or the United States in Mississippi?

Item Three:

Some nine or ten years ago an obscure California State Senator, who in his earlier career had held allegedly "radical" ideas, inaugurated a witch hunt which earned him the derisive title of being "the poor man's Martin Dies." At that time Dies was the very voluble chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee who was grabbing headlines by calling Shirley Temple a "communist." On arriving in Los Angeles at that time, I asked newspapermen, who had requested a comment on the activities of the California Senator, "Who is Senator Tenney?" The question was asked by me in all innocence, because up to that day I had never heard of him. Jubilantly the newspapermen used my query as headline.

But what may come of the wild and as yet totally unfounded charges being made by Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin can be seen in the use of charges and "findings" of the Tenney Committee, as though they had been handed down from Mount Sinai and the U. S. Supreme Court in the libel action by Larry Adler and Paul Draper against a Connecticut woman who had called them "pro-Communist." They claim that they have lost more than a hundred thousand dollars worth of bookings through the charge of the defendant, who is the wife of an editor of **Time.** It gives—or should give—decent citizens who believe in the judicial processes guaranteed by the Federal Constitution a creepy feeling to read of the Tenney report being cited in a court of law as though it were as irrefutable as the Ten Commandments or the Declaration of Independence.

Where will democracy for the weak as well as the strong wind up if the "facts" deduced by the Tenneys, McCarthys and Dies are transformed by the passage of time and by fear into accepted proof that any person charged by such men as being "radical" are therefore guilty?

Barometer Of Effect Of Decisions Is In The Howlings From Dixiecrats

THE BEST and most accurate barometer of the future effect of the United States Supreme Court decisions of June 5 is the agony those decisions are causing the Dixiecrats. In the cynical world of today many of us are inclined to dismiss or minimize victories by asserting smugly that it was not a one-hundred-percent victory but only a ninety percent one. But the southerners know that the Court struck a death blow to segregated education and travel.

The most important part of both the Sweatt and the McLaurin decisions is the fact that the Court ordered Sweatt admitted to the law school at the University of Texas—not to a "substantially equal" law school—and that McLaurin, already admitted to the University of Oklahoma Graduate School of Education, could not be required to sit in a specific row of chairs in the classrooms or at a segregated table in the cafeteria or the library. So far as these two schools of these two universities are concerned the Court specifically overruled the fifty-four-year-old doctrine of **Plessy v. Ferguson.** That decision handed down in 1896, you will remember, established the very harmful precedent that as long as a state gave Negroes ekual educational facilities there was no discrimination or violation of the Constitution in making those facilities separate ones.

What lies ahead? The enemy is groggily hanging on the ropes. But he is not knocked out yet. He still packs a dangerous wallop which, when thrown in desperation, could do a lot of damage.

Foes of segregation must follow up the three decisions handed down on June 5 with intelligence, speed and determination. Many scores and possibly several hundred cases must be brought in various southern and border states to achieve nation-wide compliance with the Supreme Court's rulings. There is a possibility that contempt of court actions may have to be brought against men like Herman Talmadge (golly, how I would like that!), if he attempts to do what he said he would do when he heard of the decisions—prevent Negroes and whites from going to school together as long as he is governor.

Then there is the fight which must be made at the undergraduate, the high school and the grammar school level. The stakes in this fight are tremendous. Georgia's superintendent of education has declared that it would take one billion dollars to equalize education of Negroes and whites in the South. Parenthetically, that is the amount of education which has been stolen from Negroes. Other experts assert that the figure will be even higher.

It is estimated by competent experts like Thurgood Marshall that several hundred legal actions may have to be brought to secure nation-wide compliance with the Court's decisions at all educational levels. Thus, if you really want to see educational segregation completely abolished in the United States, you can help do it if you are willing to help pay the cost.

What about giving a part of your vacation money to give a permanent vacation to James Crow?

Dixiecrats Keep U.S. Behind International 'Eight Ball'

I HAVE just come from a meeting of representatives of eleven national organizations. In the group were spokesmen for Protestants, Jews, Catholics, labor, employers and minority groups.

We met because of our common concern over the almost total lack of cohesion among the masses who constitute the majority of the American population, who are neither extreme left nor extreme right in their political action or economic thinking.

Many such meetings at the national and local levels have been called during recent years as enlightened Americans become increasingly aware that democracy is losing out all over the world because not enough of us concern ourselves about implementing it in our daily lives. We met in an atmosphere of tension created by the Korean crisis, which all the conferees felt might conceivably develop into World War III.

It is not my intention to repeat the familiar arguments heard at such meetings. Instead I want to report on how sinister, powerful and influential on our international relations Dixiecrats have become.

A wise and prodigiously informed person at our conference told the story of a conversation he had held recently with the head of one of the national delegations to the United Nations. The government representative is a man of integrity, experience, wisdom and courage. He is a member of the UN Human Rights Commission.

This is the unhappy story he told: He and other members of the Commission had counted on the United States, with all its vast power, to lead the fight for the right of petition by non-governmental organizations and individuals to the UN Human Rights Commission for investigation and redress of proved cases of violation of human rights.

Only the prestige and power of the United States could win that struggle which, unless won, would reduce the Human Rights Commission to a virtually powerless body. To the dismay of himself and other members of the Commission the United States delegation made no such fight.

When pressed for a reason for that failure it was revealed by a representative of the State Department that that important branch of the United States Government was afraid to fight for such right of petition and for a strong covenant to implement the international declaration of human rights, because the State Department was certain that the Dixiecrat bloc in Congress would filibuster, vote against and defeat any human rights declaration with teeth in it.

No moral need be drawn from this tragic recital of fear in the State Department and of the arrogant, undemocratic and perhaps fatally dangerous veto power which a minority in the United States Senate exercises at this critical period of world history.

Is there any wonder, therefore, that the peoples of the world including those of Asia, Africa, and Latin America just don't believe spokesmen for the United States when they declare that we fight for freedom and justice?

Walter White

Discovers Evidence To Discount Kelly Miller's Pessimistic Statement

DARE WE believe that the pessimistic remark of the late Dean Kelly Miller that "Negroes pay for the things they want and beg for the things they need" is becoming less true?

There is evidence here that at least some Negro Americans are beginning to prove themselves less guilty of such short-sighted thinking.

I heard of the three great United States Supreme Court decisions in the educational and dining car cases on my way New York from Northampton, Massachusetts, where I had been attending the graduation of a favorite niece.

As soon as our jubilation had subsided, the grim necessity faced us of finding the money necessary to follow up the decisions and obtain South-wide compliance. We decided to send telegrams to a selected list of individuals throughout the country asking each to be one of one thousand Americans to contribute one hundred dollars each towards a fund to smash the last barriers of segregation at the graduate and professional levels.

This sum, we informed them, would constitute the beginning of a larger fund to challenge segregation at the undergraduate, the high school and the grammar school levels.

To achieve this would require the filing and fighting through to a successful conclusion of many score and possibly hundreds of legal cases. At the same time we wrote to Branches of the NAACP and telegraphed the pastors of two hundred fifty Negro and white churches to the same effect.

So numerous and urgent are the appeals which are made daily for a variety of worthy causes, we had no means of knowing how many would respond favorably. Within a week two hundred eight persons had telegraphed pledges which were soon followed by checks of one hundred dollars each.

My friend, John Wesley Dobbs of Atlanta, air-mailed two checks for three hundred dollars—one from the Georgia Negro Voters League and the other from the M. W. Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F. and A. M. of Georgia.

The Alabama State Conference of NAACP Branches pledged one thousand dollars; the New York, N. Y., Kansas City, Mo., Raleigh, N. C., and Grand Rapids, Mich., Branches pledged five hundred dollars each. The Patterson, N. J. Branch pledged three hundred dollars; the Knoxville, Tenn., and Youngstown, Ohio Branches pledged two hundred dollars each, and twenty-seven other branches pledged one hundred dollars each.

Friendly white persons were also invited to contribute. Kivie Kaplan of Boston not only sent his check for one hundred dollars (he is already a Life Member of the NAACP) but persuaded two of his friends to send similar amounts.

He also asked three others of his friends to join him in contributing and raising a minimum of one thousand dollars each.

The sum total is yet a long way from the half million dollars which it is going to cost to secure compliance with the Supreme Court's decisions in every professional and graduate school of every southern state, and to smash down segregation at other levels of education.

But we are beginning to learn the fundamental lesson of warfare—never to permit your enemy to recover from a smashing blow you have dealt him nor give him time to regroup his shattered forces.

It has recently been reported that the Dixiecrats have built up a reserve fund of more than five hundred thousand dollars to influence public opinion and to fight to the bitter end for the preservation of segregation. Perhaps we are walking up to the fact that we are not as indifferent to our own welfare as we sometimes appear to be.

If you have a spare hundred dollars—or a spare dollar—how about your joining in this crusade and help make it an avalanche of the funds which will bring the end of racial segregation.

Walter White

Remember June 25, 1950; Date May Prove Important To All Negroes

JUNE 25, 1950, the day the North Korean Army moved southward across the 38th parallel, may conceivably prove to be as an important a date so far as the race question is concerned as the day on which Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

For it was that day that the United States—or at least the fragment of Americans wise enough to see the facts—began to wake up to the sad and possibly disastrous consequences of what race prejudice in the United States has done to American prestige all over the world.

Moscow Radio, for example, has pounded incessantly into the ears of not only Koreans but of people throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America that "at the command of a southern President, American G. I.'s are bombing and strafing COLORED PEOPLE in Korea." Soviet Russia is doing everything within her power to make the war in Korea appear to be one between white and colored peoples.

The effect has been devastating. Few Americans have yet begun to appreciate the courage and the significance of India's and Pakistan's taking a stand on the side of the United States and the United Nations. They did so at their peril.

But by taking the position they did they dulled the sharp edge of Communist propaganda of a "race war" and pointed up ... struggle is one between an aggressive totalitarianism and an imperfect democracy whose most grevious weaknesses are the sins of colonialism and race.

Already India is beginning to pay the price for her courage and decision. At the command of Moscow, according to a dispatch from Bombay, India, to the **New Leader**, the Communists in India have "initiated a two-pronged strategy involving the creation fellow-traveling fronts on the one hand, and on the other the building up of a 'Peoples Liberation Army.' The goal of this strategy is the conquest of India—to come after India has been properly 'softened up' and after the Soviets have swept through Indo-China, Thailand, Burma and Malaya. India is the only really major obstacle which stands between Russia and attainment of her ultimate aim of taking all Asia."

From time to time in this column, including some of those written from Asia last year, I have reported to you how incessantly the question was raised, particularly in India, of the dis-

trust of the United States because of the mistreatment of colore peoples in the United States. I do not mean by this to say th all Indians identify themselves as colored in the sense that the regard Negroes as being colored. But they are increasingly voca as are other peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America in lettin white Europe and America know that they regard as the ba rometer of white sincerity the treatment of Negroes in the Unite States. Intelligent white Americans and informed Negro Ameri cans are beginning to wake up to this truth. The sooner we al face the truth, understand it and do something about it the soon er we are going to find an answer of enlightened interest whic can avert destruction of us all

'Racial Arrogance Root of War'

—Walter White

MILWAUKEE—The war in Asia is not merely a fight between dictatorship and democracy. It is also a desperate struggle between "those who have been robbed and scorned because of color and place of birth and those who have done the robbing," Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, told delegates attending the second annual convention of International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO, here Thursday.

Citing the "racial arrogance" of white Americans and Europeans and their exploitation of under-developed areas, Mr. White said: "All these factors add up to the distrust which caused the present rulers of China to believe—in my opinion quite erroneously—that their lot would be better served under Soviet instead of democratic control."

"I am convinced," the NAACP official continued, "that our greatest error is not calculated prejudice against others, except on the part of a minority of Americans who join such organizations as the Dixiecrat movement and the ultra-conservative business interests which finance and capitalize on such divisive movements. Our greatest national fault has been blindness and unconscious contempt for what the rest of the world—particularly the dark world of two-thirds of the earth's population —thinks of us. It is this indifference and condescension which is today responsible for distrust of our national sincerity and integrity."

Labor, Mr. White said, has a responsibility to demonstrate that democracy is more than a word. Congratulating the IUE for establishing an FEPC within the union, he asserted that it would be of value "only if it is put into daily practice down to the lowest level of union activity." He cited the impact of American foreign policies upon the workingman, urged intensified political action despite recent setbacks, and called upon the trade unionists to enlist actively in the fight to eliminate every vestige of racial discrimination and segregation from American life.

Walter WHITE

We Seem To Have Answer To Everything Except How To Live At Peace

THE SHATTERING news that the United States is seriously considering use of the atomic bomb on the Chinese has stunned the world. The first reaction of a number of persons was this would mean that for a third time in three it had been dropped on colored people. Such considerations ought not enter the thinking, if it can be called thinking, of any of us. So horrible a disaster ought not be imposed on any person, whatever his color. Another reason why the color line is unimportant is the probability that should the third atomic bomb be dropped on China the fourth will soon thereafter fall on white people in Russia and the fifth on all of us here in the United States. Or maybe bombs five and four might change their sequence.

What is most tragic is that the moral and intellectual capacity of mankind has failed so utterly and miserably that it can split the atom, demolish time and space through its scientific genius, create a world of material comforts but at the same time be wholly unable to fathom the secret of living at peace with the man next door. We talk interminably of peace, justice and freedom while we continue to deny them to others. What is most dismaying about this moral atrophy is that most of us do not realize how blindly and selfishly we do this. Russia screams imprecations in the United Nations at the United States and we in turn scream back in a test of lung power and not of integrity. We writhe in fury at being called imperalists even as Congress votes more money to France to fight a losing struggle to hold Indochina in colonial bondage. Russia "liberates" North Korea and China, imposing an even more ruthless bondage on their people and tries to persuade the rest of the world that Russia's goal is universal freedom and not Communist empire.

Have you ever suffered a nightmare in which you were imprisoned on a toboggan whose terrifying speed was such that there was no escape? That is precisely the agony in which the modern world caught up inextricably in an insane struggle for material power—chiefly the power to annihilate instead of help the other fellow as well as oneself—finds itself today. Certainly the United States, if it knew the answer would get out from under the human holocaust which descends upon its soldiers in Korea today. It would atone for the many errors of omission and commission which it has wittingly and unwittingly been guilty of making these past few decades at home and abroad which have earned for it suspicion, distrust and downright hatred among hundreds of millions of Asians, Africans, Caribbeans and South Americans.

But the proud white man is as bewildered as any man when confronted by the overpowering might of modern machinery concocted through the malevolent or benevolent genius of the scientist of the western world. Nathaniel Peffer, the wise and distinguished student of Asia who has for more than twenty years warned of the price the western world might have to pay for its sins of colonialism and racism, is as distrait and frightened as the rest of us. In a recent issue of the New York Times Magazine he shifts his position to say that the United States can lose Asia and survive but cannot do so if Europe be lost since we would then lose our markets for automobiles and other machinery.

With what materials would we make machines to sell to Europe or any other area? 95 percent of the manganese with which we make steel comes from India, Africa and Brazil. From 53 per cent to 100 percent of our tungsten, cobalt, uranium, mica, chrome ore and other minerals without which the industrial civilization of America and Europe would collapse almost overnight come from so-called "colored" nations and areas. Yet not even so informed a student as Professor Peffer seems to realize that the kind of world he has sought to awaken and reform no longer exists.

Paralysis of mind and spirit appears to have descended on the cocky world we knew. It is because of that numbing fear that we turn in desperation to the atom bomb instead of using that love of freedom which has kept man alive through periods of crisis before.

In this hour of world travail, God help us once again to step in abject terror this side of abandonment of the will to fight for a decent world instead of base surrender to the opportunism of distatorship or world suicide.

Walter WHITE

Writer Says Dixie Much Like Traditional Mule

READING NEWSPAPER accounts on the recent Southern Governors' Conference in Charleston in my favorite newspaper, the **News and Courier**, brought back the oldie about the blind mule who persisted to running head-on into a stone wall. You will remember the assurance given a skeptical prospective purchaser by the man who was trying to unload the sightless beast, "He ain't blind — he just don't give a damn."

In the face of two U. S. Supreme Court decisions on segregation in education, the Dixie governors planned and talked earnestly though hollowly about "regional plans" for education which would enable the South to "handle all the racial problems" which the determined drive of Negroes against segregated education have brought to a head. Governor Talmadge wailed that "just in veterinary medicine it has been estimated that the (southern) states would have to spend some $16,000,000,000 if each tried to establish a school in that field. It is the same in medicine and dentistry." Governor Fuller Warren of Florida, complaining that his state's finances are already on an "austerity basis," asserted it would cost them $22,500,000 to build schools of dentistry, medicine and veterinary medicine and another $1,400,000 annually to maintain them. Running the risk of being charged by the KKK of being pro-Semitic, Governor Warren chortled that his state would have to spend less than $200,000 annually by shipping off its students to regional schools elsewhere.

But none of the state executives gave any indication that they contemplate any system, so far as Negroes are concerned, except a separate one, despite Supreme Court decisions or public opinion or anything else. The troglodyte **News and Courier**, which I love reading because of its incessant attacks on me as a "menace to the Southern pattern of living," now sets itself up as interpreter of what goes on in the innermost recesses of the Negro's mind. Negroes don't want segregation abolished, declares the **News and Courier** on unrevealed authority, and the current drive against that evil is due solely to the pressures and machinations of "outside agitators." Negro ministers bluntly and speedily repudiated the paper's attempt to put its own wishful thinking into the mouths and minds of Negro South Carolinians.

Another self-appointed spokesman at the Charleston meeting of governors was one Cecil Sims, Nashville lawyer, who drafted the original regional education compact for Southern states. "Thoughtful Negro leaders themselves are beginning to see," Sims asserted, "the fatal fallacy of demanding non-separation in professional schools." I do wish Brother Sims would tell us who the "thoughtful Negro leaders" are. They can't be found among the one thousand Negro students who today study in Southern graduate and professional tax-supported schools. They certainly won't be found among those who edit the Negro newspapers. They certainly are not in the ranks of distinguished Negro educators like Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse College, John W. Davis of West Virginia, Mordecai W. Johnson of Howard or Charles S. Johnson of Fisk. And they certainly weren't among those who filled to capacity large auditoriums in Alabama, Oklahoma and Virginia recently and cheered to the echo the declaration of war upon any and every form of segregation.

The bullying tactics and philosophy of threats upon which the neanderthal South has relied was voiced again by Sims and the **News and Courier.** The former stated that "their (Negroes') only good bet is the separated school and what we need is not non-separation but more separated schools." The newspaper mutters daily about closing all public schools before permitting segregation to be abolished and even of physical violence to stop integration. Sims even went on as far as to offer the preposterous and hypocritical suggestion that segregation at the graduate and professional level must be maintained because the education given Negroes at lower levels was such that they cannot meet the requirements to enter the higher institutions of learning!

He then piously attempts to pull a red herring stunt by saying:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, headed by Walter White, has taken the position that it is better to have one Negro studying medicine at Harvard than to have 450 studying medicine at segregated institutions like Meharry, but there is some recent evidence that Negro business men — lawyers, bankers, real estate men and so forth — do not share this view."

Aside from its inaccuracy and falsity, Brothers Sims, your statement would carry much more conviction and seem infinitely less phony if you would tell us who these "lawyers, bankers, real estate men and so forth" are — especially the so forths who have confided in you and no one else. Otherwise you will qualify for a newer version of the old story which would read, "He is blind — and don't give a damn."

WALTER White

Labor Has Done Its Share in Building Kitty to Back FEPC

IT IS gratifying to see the growth of financial as well as resolutional support of the fight for civil rights by trade unions. Organizations and individuals understandably have a deeper interest in a cause when their money is invested in it. In proportion to income no group has a better record than trade unions in contributing to such causes as the U.S.O., the Red Cross, the cancer, heart, arthritis and tuberculosis funds, the March of Dimes polio drives, Israel and similar worthwhile campaigns. One union—the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, under the dynamic David Dubinsky—has given for several years close to two million dollars annually to Jewish and Italian causes, as well as to many others.

Topping the list is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, headed by Jacob Potoskey, which contributed $5,000. This sum was later matched by another Amalgamated union—the New York Joint Board of Laundry Workers.

The United Automobile Workers, CIO, under the leadership of Walter Reuther, and Philip Murray's United Steel Workers gave $2,500 each to the NAACP's fight. (It should be mentioned here, however, that both these and other unions spend each year monies to eradicate prejudice in their own ranks and in the country at large. This column is purposely limited to the tangible sums contributed directly to the current struggle.) Pat Gorman of the A. F. of L. Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen sent a $1,100 check from Chicago. The Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders International Union follows the automobile and steel workers with a $1,000 check sent by its president, Hugo Ernst of Cincinnati.

Two other unions whose treasuries at the time were at low ebb because of strikes and other causes—the United Packinghouse Workers and the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers— sent smaller checks and promised continued support. Around $5,000 in all have been contributed by a hundred or so local unions. The total of approximately $23,000 contributed to date by trade unions for the civil rights fight represents approximately 4 per cent of the total raised during 1949 by the NAACP and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. (Incidentally, this hardly seems to justify the charges of the **Daily Worker** and the Baltimore **Afro-American** that "organized labor is chinking up the cracks in NAACP finances" and is "dictating the political policy of the NAACP"! The crack chinked to date is, regrettably, only one twenty-fifth of the overall surface of the Association. And it was the NAACP, in the John J. Parker fight twenty years ago, which helped to set the pattern which labor has since followed.)

There has been, unfortunately, some unjustified criticism of certain union leaders, particularly those with sizeable numbers of Negroes in their unions, because they have given large sums to various causes, but little or nothing to ones directly affecting the lives and fortunes of Negro workers, such as the civil rights campaign. One of the unions so criticized has been the International Ladies Garment Workers, whose membership is predominantly made up of Jewish, Italian and Negro workers. I know of no charge that its members do not share equally in the benefits of the union. But some of its Negro members have grumbled that so much is given to help other minorities and so little to Negroes. To them I have pointed out that this seems to prove that other minorities are on the job presenting their causes, while Negroes aren't. Now I can add that the Garment Workers sent one of the largest delegations to the Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington, which is convincing proof of their interest.

Far and above union financial contributions is the fact that they are now aware that the fight against mob violence, restrictive covenants, disfranchisement, denial of jobs and unequal pay scales made by the NAACP has been a fight for union labor and for the nation as a whole. This should mean increased unity of efforts down the years.

WALTER White

Let's Remember The Preacher Who Fought Against Jim Crow

Will you join me in tribute to one whose lifelong fight for human freedom and particularly for the Negro places his name among immortals like Elijah Lovejoy, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, Moorfield Storey and John Brown? If you want to demonstrate our collective gratitude to this "giant in the earth," to borrow Rollvag's title, sit down right now and write a check payable to Peter Grimm, Treasurer, and send it to me at 441 West 21st st., New York 11, N. Y. To your check I will add one of my own and forward them as our joint contribution and tribute to continue and extend the influence of this great man who has done so much to make possible the freedom and opportunity which you and I enjoy today.

Who is this man and for what purpose do I ask you to contribute? He is John Haynes Holmes who at the age of seventy has just retired as pastor of the Community Church of New York. He was one of that small band who in 1909 joined to wage uncompromising frontal attack on every phase of anti-Negro bigotry—social, economic, political. His was one of the signatories of the call for the meeting on Lincoln's Birthday in 1909 out of which came the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. From that day to this he has never missed a meeting of the Board of Directors if it was possible to be present.

Those early days of the NAACP were not easy ones for those who dared take an uncompromising position. They were subjected to obscene abuse and threats of personal violence as vicious as were made on the abolitionists of pre-Civil War days. Some couldn't take it and fell by the wayside; John Haynes Holmes never faltered one iota in his devotion and courage. A few of those who favored the young and unpopular cause contented themselves with modest gifts of money and time but kept their NAACP activities carefully separate from their other interests. No so John Haynes Holmes. As the brilliant and eloquent pastor of a great New York church, he forced his congregation and trustees to face the issue of race. That stand cost him and the church considerable financial and numerical support but John Haynes Holmes never yielded an inch. Today the Community Church is the only "white" church in the United States which to my knowledge has a Negro associate pastor. It is to John Haynes Holmes to whom a large degree of today's increasingly vigorous and country-wide battle against religious Jim Crow is due.

When he recently announced his intention to turn over to younger persons the direction of the affairs of the church, men as well as women wept openly and unashamedly at their loss. To thousands of people the typical American practice of a testimonial dinner instantly occurred. John Haynes Holmes bluntly refused and resisted every cajolement to listen to praise for what he had done. Some of his friends who are the beneficiaries of his intellectual integrity, his moral courage and his spiritual strength responded swiftly and eagerly to the call of Peter Grimm president of the William A. White Real Estate Company, to decide on some other tribute since the testimonial dinner is out at Dr. Holmes' insistence.

It was decided to raise $135,000 to equip a recently purchased community house near the Community Church at 40 East 35th st., in New York City. In the community house will be such services available to all regardless of race, creed, color or place of birth, as a marriage consultation bureau, a legal counseling service, a psychiatric counseling bureau, various youth activities including the Homestead Vacation Center at Carmel, N. Y., and a social service department for personal need and social adjustment. All these are close to Dr. Holmes' heart because he has seen during his half century in the ministry the very great need of such down-to-earth assistance to human beings in this badly mixed-up world of ours.

Walter White

Courageous Seretse Spurns Britain's Insulting Bribe

THE jitters bordering on panic which colonial powers are experiencing is visible in the case of Seretse Khama, 27-year-old hereditary chief of the Bamangwato tribe of Bechuanaland, a British protectorate located due north of the Union of South Africa. Chief Seretse, it will be remembered, met at a church social and married a white Englishwoman while he was a student at Oxford. His uncle, Tsekedi, the tribe's regent, under pressure from the British, opposed his nephew's choice of a white queen. But the tribe members, by an overwhelming majority, voted their approval of Chief Seretse's selection and banished Tsekedi from the tribe forever.

A tumultuous welcome was given the chief and his bride on their return home from England, and apparently the issue was settled. "Uncle Tom" Tsekedi was repudiated and scorned for playing the role of stooge for the British, as the tribesmen and tribeswomen showed that they esteemed ability and character above skin color. The British were stunned by the repudiation of their "white supremacy" racism.

Meanwhile, the infamous Malan government of the Union of South Africa, whose repressive measures against native Africans have become so brutish that bloody rioting is taking place all over the Union, brought heavy pressure on the British to break up Chief Seretse's marriage at all costs.

Chief Seretse was "invited" to London for a conference. The Bamangwato tribesmen considered the "invitation" gravely and lengthily because they suspected its motives. They strongly advised their chief against going to London. When he insisted on going, they kept his wife in Bechuanaland as a "hostage" to insure his safe return. How justified their certainty that treachery lay behind the summons to London became clear when Chief Seretse reached England. He was offered—if he relinquished his chieftainship, agreed to live in England and never to return to his native land, and by inference, give up his wife, although she is soon to bear him a child—the magnificent bribe of 1,110 pounds sterling, the equivalent of which is $3,000 **less tax!**

Chief Seretse Khama has been ordered into five years' exile from his homeland and people by the British Government for refusing so insulting a proposal! One wonders what would have been done to him had not his people been wise and suspicious enough to insist on his wife staying home in Bechuanaland as hostage against intrigue and treachery. An attempt was even made to persuade or prevent Chief Seretse from talking with newspapers so that the first—and, the British hoped, the only—statement would be the English version made in the House of Commons. But the courageous African chieftain bluntly refused to be muzzled or intimidated and told the story in all its sordid details of scared colonialism and frustrated racism.

Will Great Britain be able to enforce its decree of banishment? That is exceedingly doubtful, such is the revolt against white arrogance and exploitation which is flaming high in Nigeria, Somaliland, the Union of South Africa and other parts of Africa. The native populations in most of Africa are unorganized and unarmed, which makes effective protest on a broad scale unlikely to succeed for several years to come. But what is happening today in the Union of South Africa is indicative of what can happen and does happen when oppression and injustice become too heavy to bear.

Walter White

American Communists Had Good Opportunity; Fumbled The Ball

IT IS EXTREMELY doubtful if in all human history a political party or revolutionary movement has been given such golden opportunities to sell its doctrine, or fumbled those chances more miserably and stupidly than the American Communists. Most causists are addicted to a self-hypotism which causes them to believe that they alone know the one true way to salvation. The ones who translate their conviction into results are those who combine common sense and integrity with their convictions. It is on this rock of failure to do just that which is responsible for the expulsion of Communist-controlled unions from the C.I.O. and the sinking of Communist influence and prestige to an all-time low.

Defender.

Consider the conditions of the past twenty years which might have been used by an intelligent Communist leadership, backed by the prestige and power of Soviet Russia, to make the Communist Party one of the most powerful in the United States. There was the stock market crash of 1929 followed by mass unemployment and depression during the '30s the like of which were unprecedented in American or world history. Misery and despair made the situation a ready-made one for an effective protest movement. Not only minorities like Negroes and Jews but labor as well was ready for a change born of disgust with politicians and political parties which had brought about the debacle.

All of these conditions and factors added up to the most bountiful potential harvest of political and financial power which any protest movement has had in its grasp since the beginning of America. Why has ripe fruit eager to be plucked been totally lost?

Sat. 3-25-50

The reasons for the abysmal failure are four in number, in the opinion of this commentator.

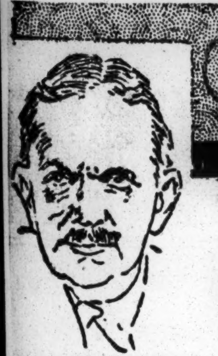
First, there is the delusion of grandeur and invincibilty which has plagued the American Communists and made them impervious to any facts except those which were handed down from the Mount Sinai of Moscow or from their own lips. With a hard core of strictly disciplined and lusty voiced members, the party has been able to produce with machine-like regularity audiences trained to cheeer or boo ecstatically at the right time. Party orators mesmerized themselves into the belief that, "the voice of the people being the voice of God," they were winning millions of converts, forgetting to note that it was the same crowd wherever or whenever the meeting was held.

Second, there has been another illusion common to other fanatics—that any opinion which deviated in the slightest degree from their own way of necessity venal, stupid and vicious. This has bred a fatal contempt for able and honest opinions of those who did not go the whole journey in believing that all truth, virtue and wisdom is concentrated in the Kremlin but who didn't believe they were concentrated in Washington or London or Belgrade either.

Third, this has led to a psychopathic fr[...] which led Communists when criticized even mildly to sc[...] "red baiter" on [...] the slightest pretext. For a time this strategy worked pretty well in scaring decent liberals from classification with persons like John E. Rankin, Martin Dies J. Parnell Thomas and Gerald L. K. Smith. Unfortunately for the comrades, Moscow has not required them to read Aesop's fable about the boy who cried "wolf" once to often.

Finally, the most destructive of all tactics has been the brash and unashamed dishonesty of the Communists in betrayal and double-crossing of not only others but of their own party members whenever deviations of the party line (or of what they imagined the line to be as of the moment) demanded.

(Reprinted by Special Request)



Columnist Walter White Sees Brighter Side Of Negro Life

A cynical friend of mine loves to tell people when I'm around that the headline newspapers keep in type for my column is WALTER WHITE DENOUNCES . . . .

But if the current trend of Broadway and Hollywood continues they are going to change that head to PRAISES. The reason for such a metamorphosis from the curmudgeon able to see only the worst into a babbling little cheer-up is the revolutionary change of stage and screen, especially the latter, in treatment of the Negro. The two latest examples I submit for your consideration are "Intruders in the Dust," and "Lost in the Stars."

The first named is the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer picture based on William Faulkner's novel of the same name which, as you doubtless know, was almost entirely filmed in Oxford, Miss. It tells the story of the attempt to pin the murder of a white man who had been killed by his own brother on a hard working, prosperous and proud Negro, Lucas Beauchamp, who is played superbly by Juano Hernandez. The whites hate Beauchamp because he refused to cringe, fear him because of his courage and secretly respect him because he has an integrity which they do not have.

Although I had read both the novel and the movie script and thus knew the story, I found myself hanging on every word and episode as though I were living through the story in Mississippi. Whether you read Faulkner's novel or not, if you can sit quietly when Miss Habersham, a diminutive but courageous white woman who looks and acts exactly like the real-life Mrs. M. E. Tilley of Georgia, as she takes a seat at the entrance of the jail and shames a mob intent on lynching Beauchamp, then you're a better man than I am. And there are scores of other secenes equally hair-raising. MGM has stripped all of Faulkner's pseudo-science about "characteristic Negro odor" from the story and made it into one of the most spine-tingling pictures you'll see in a long time. And no man who sees, no matter how prejudiced he may be, will leave "Intruder in the Dust" without a profound conviction that something must be done about race hatred. If you agree after you see the picture, may I suggest you write a note of thanks and congratulations to Dore Schary, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Culver City, Cal.

The other reason for jubilation is the opening on Broadway of a musical tragedy based on Alan Paton's great novel about the race question in South Africa, "Cry, the Beloved Country," which you probably have read. It is unfortunate that a legal squabble over the title required a change to "Lost in the Stars" which is as maudlin and meaningless as the novel and play are hard hitting and meaningful. Pulitzer Prize winning playwright Maxwell Anderson has written the script. Kurt Weill has composed a score which, with deviations here and there, is one of the most beautiful and stirring ever heard in the theatre. Reuben Mamoulian designed the sets and staged the show. Those three top notchers of the stage guarantee excellence of production.

But "Lost in the Stars" might have been just another Broadway show had it not been for two other factors—the story itself and the cast chosen to play it. If you read Alan Paton's novel of the Rev. Stephen Kumalo, the devout Bantu man of God whose faith was shaken by white prejudice and what it did to his children, you already know that it is one of most poignant dramas of modern times.

Incidentally, the backers of the play were eager to have at least one Negro to help to produce it by investing in it. They did not need Negro money as a number of wealthy and theatre-wise white people were eager to finance it. They wanted a Negro to share in the project as demonstration of interest and support in showing the Negro on the stage as a dignified and admirable character instead of a clown or menial. I approach several colored people who are financially able to make such an investment.

Not one could be interested. Remember Kelly Miller's statement about the Negro "paying for the things he wants and begging for the things he need."

So, let me urge—No, beseech you to see "Lost in the Stars" if you are coming to New York during the next year or so when it will be playing on Broadway or see it when it comes to your city. It is truly what Howard Barnes of the New York Herald Tribune calls it — "a harrowing theatrical experience but one of deep satisfaction . . . (which) has excitement, flavor, heart and a stern authority."

Threats Against Mrs. Waring Blight On Grand Old Charleston

THE NAZI goosestep and the sickening Bourbon version of Heil Hitler filled the Charleston of DuBose Heyward's "Porgy and Bess" last week. Made ridiculous by its failure in 1948 to batten on hate the Dixiecrats, like their counterparts in Germany, crawled out of the woodwork and strutted the streets near Fort Sumter to achieve a twisted revenge for their ignominy.

One of their fuehrers was the slick Jimmy Byrnes who parlayed a stenographer's notebook into a brief and ignoble career as Secretary of State which was happily ended by a president who rebelled against the snide arrogance of the South Carolina ward heeler.

Another was the less facile Dixiecrat candidate for President, Strom Thurmond, who rushed to Washington to fawn more abjectly than Uncle Tom upon a miraculously reelected president when Mr. Truman returned in triumph to the nation's capital.

Hazily they sensed that their winter of discontent and frustration had been ushered in by a scholarly fellow South Carolinian whose passion for justice and devotion to constitutional government had wrecked their dreams of a never ending world of white supremacy. The jurist's father had fought for the Confederacy so none could assail him as a damyankee. So steeped was the judge in knowledge and understanding of the tenets of equal justice under law which had made America greatest of the nations of the earth that none could gainsay his rightness. When he had sternly and unanswerably declared that "it is time for South Carolina to rejoin the Union" in striking down an evil attempt to circumvent the Constitution none could answer his Mosaic edict. Because he possessed the courage and spiritual integrity which they lacked they hated him the more. But attack him they did not dare.

It was then that the Jim Crowed Young Women's Christian Association invited the great man's equally indomitable and patrician wife to speak to them on the occasion of their annual meeting. Mrs. J. Waites Waring, member of a wealthy and distinguished Michigan family, accepted with alacrity. Never one to bite her tongue or pull a punch in saying what she believed and felt in her heart, she carefully prepared a fighting speech on the decadence which inexorably had followed the white South's three-century long obsession with keeping the Negro down.

Somehow or other white Charleston—reputedly through two Negro handkerchief heads—got wind of what Mrs. Waring intended to say. Anonymous telephone and other threats began to pour in on the Waring home. These served only to make her more determined.

The Charleston **News and Courier**, mouthpiece of the Dixiecrats, was unbright enough to publish the full text of the speech, minus a quotation from a syndicated column of mine which Mrs. Waring had been gracious enough to quote. Thus her words, thanks to the **News and Courier** and to the reading of the speech by a member of the State legislature (whose name, ironically and inaccurately enough is "Wise") on the floor of the legislature gained a circulation which both the legislator and the newspaper rued immediately. True, they precipitated a barrage of anonymous written and telephoned threats from the Ku Klux Klan and others, many of them couched as usual with such psychopaths in the most obscene language. But they also brought admiring letters from many Negro and white Southerners who thanked God that one person had the grit to speak the truth.

And we should thank God that even in darkest South Carolina there are two human beings like the Warings.

WALTER White

31a (Negro)

Let's Take Advantage of Some Of Our Neglected Opportunities

"WHY DON'T more Negroes attend lecture series like this one?" was the embarrassing question sent to the platform recently at the famous Cooper Union here in New York. Applause greeted the reading by the chairman of the query which made me uncomfortably aware that many in the audience had been asking themselves the same question. And probably also why colored people weren't interested in the whole range of national and world issues discussed in forums like the one at Cooper Union as well as the race problem.

Defender

I knew I was on the spot. The famous millionaire merchant prince, Peter Cooper, had established in 1859, The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art to provide without cost to all the people of New York a museum, a free public library, a school of design, a thorough polytechnic institute (the present School of Engineering) and, above all else, "free public lectures at night and particularly to their bearing on democratic citizenship."

Dat. 1-28-50

From the platform of Cooper Union Abraham Lincoln had made the famous speech which led to his nomination as the Civil War president and the writer of the Emancipation Proclamation. William Lloyd Garrison and other abolitionists had cried out against the infamy of human slavery from the same rostrum. On March 24, 1899, Booker T. Washington had delivered there a speech on the race problem in the United States. And the week before I was confronted with that painful question Ralph J. Bunche had spoken to a jam-packed and almost totally white audience on the United Nations and Peace.

Chicago Def.

As we waited in the Green Room, on whose walls hung autographed photographs from Lincoln to John Dewey, I was told by the moderator, Dr. Johnson E. Fairchild, how the Cooper Union had spoken, written, sent literature and telephoned to Harlem and Brooklyn churches, newspapers, schools, YMCA's labor groups and social organizations to interest them in the free lectures, courses and other facilities available to Negro as well as white New Yorkers. The results had been almost nil.

How did I answer the question? By admitting, sadly and regretfully, that colored Americans are unhappily no more intelligent than white ones—that they howled loudly when denied opportunity but were strangely unreceptive when the bars are let down. By confessing that the six subway miles from 7th Avenue and 125th Street to Cooper Union seemed to be as difficult to negotiate as the Atlantic Ocean by row boat. That additional efforts needed to be made to make sure that understandably hypersensitive Negroes were made to understand that they were not unwelcome in places like Cooper Union.

But you and I know that that isn't the whole answer—either at forums and schools in New York or anywhere else. Far too many colored Americans isolate themselves in ghettoes to emerge only when a colored speaker or singer is featured. Even then the percentage of Negroes is almost invariably much smaller, percentagewise, than should be the case in the light of the number of educated Negroes.

But this is not at all a question of the appropriate percentage of dark skinned Americans in an appearance at representative gatherings. To do that at the price of boredom is silly. But what about the minority in every racial group which has the native ability, the intellectual curiosity and the common sense to realize that in the contemporary world the individual who fails or refuses to keep abreast of what is going on in the world is doomed. He who refuses to walk through open doors when he can benefit from what is inside has no excuse for ignorance or failure. Many doors are not yet open to the Negro. But many which are open like Cooper Union in New York City and many other places like it all over the country are not being entered which is one of the reasons for the present plight of the Negro. Let's start using the...

WALTER White

31a Negro

Dixie's Adamant Stalwarts Are Not So Unyielding After All

I WANT TO TELL you a story which, in a minor way, reflects the changing attitude of the Political South and is also a tribute to one of the South's chief political spokesmen.

George Denny of Town Hall telephoned a few weeks ago to invite Mrs. White and me to dine with the speakers and other guests at a Town Hall broadcast on the Truman Civil Rights program. We asked who the speakers would be and were told that they would be Senators Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Allen Ellender of Louisiana.

Defender

Senator Humphrey we knew would not object to dining again with us, but we asked George Denny, what would be Senator Ellender's attitude. To which the North Carolina-born moderator of Town Hall replied firmly that if the Louisiana senator did not choose to join the party he could eat elsewhere.

Dat. 2-25-50

You will understand, of course, why we went to the dinner eager to see what would happen. The gracious and beautiful Jeanne Denny, wife and "right hand man" of Mr. Denny greeted us with the news that Senator Ellender at the very last moment had developed "laryngitis" and that Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi was pinch-hitting for the swarthy, crinkly-haired Louisianian.

Chicago Def.

Remembering one or two encounters with the Mississippi senator and especially one when I had characterized Dixie filibusters as demagogues, I asked Jeanne if we were to have the pleasure of the Senator's company at dinner.

She informed us, eyes twinkling, that the Senator had told her he never ate before speaking except a glass of milk and had preferred to go to his hotel to rest.

After dinner I encountered Senator Stennis in the speakers' room. He took the initiative by extending his hand and asking pleasantly, "You're Mr. White, aren't you?" I pleaded guilty to that charge and told him, "Senator, you missed a mighty good dinner tonight—wonderful rare roast beef."

He indicated the shaft had found its mark only by a faint reddening of his face. With admirable calm he replied, "So I hear," and turned away.

During the warm-up session preceding the broadcast, George Denny asked the large audience how many favored the civil rights program in its entirety. All but two or three instantaneously thrust their hands ceilingwards.

The moderator reminded those present of the standard practice of courtesy towards speakers on Town Hall however vigorously one disagreed with their views. Senator Stennis was manifestly conscious of the fact that even his fellow-Southerners in the audience did not agree with his position.

He was somewhat ill at ease as he made his opening statement but gained self-assurance when the audience, out of innate courtesy and George Denny's reminder, listened attentively and even upon occasion applauded.

The contest was somewhat one-sided as Hubert Humphrey, fired with deep conviction, drove home point after point with deadly effectiveness. But Senator Stennis was wise enough to abstain from the ranting and billingsgate which has been characteristic of Southern opponents of civil rights like Mr. Stennis' predecessor, the late Senator Bilbo of unhappy and unsavory memory.

When an embarrassing query was asked, he benignly prefaced his answer by saying, "Now, ah'm glad you asked that question," and then proceeded to rationalize the facts as best he could in defending a morally indefensible position. All evening a puzzled look passed over his face as though he were reflecting on the treatment which would be accorded an advocate of civil rights in his native Mississippi.

It was a smart performance and indicates that the South is not as insensitive to the changing climate of national and world opinion on civil rights as the speeches of some of its spokesmen in cold type would make it appear.

Down on Beale

By NAT D. WILLIAMS

There's something about a lady
That I just don't "dig."
She's not like "Shakin' Sadie,"
Who makes you blow your wig.
A lady makes you cool and careful!
—SWIMPH.

* * *

'Miz' Lucy' Was a Lady . . .

MEMPHIS—This "corner" doesn't go in for writing obituaries. There are too many laughs thrown this way for that.

But eulogies . . . well, that's different. So, today's splurge from Beale Street, the "avenue where the blues began," has to do with a "great lady" of these parts, who "passed" the other day. Her name . . . Mrs. Lucille McDonald. Her occupation . . . wife, mother, grandmother, teacher and lady. Her career . . . a benediction and a symbol of that sacrificing breed of women who submerge themselves to make their men and others great. Her personality . . . charmingly beautiful enough to make her old age graceful. Her body . . . arrestingly attractive, even in death and while bearing the halo of age. Her memorial . . . a securely carved niche in the hearts of hundreds of boys and girls, men and women, whose lives she touched and left their souls singing a constantly recurring refrain, "Let us rise up and call her blessed."

Mrs. McDonald, the matriarchal center of one of Memphis' first families . . . the R. S. Lewis and Sons Mortuary, owners, was one of the last of that fine type of colored women who flourished in the South at a time when colored folk needed "class" more than anything else in their women. By that, the "corner" means that there comes a time in the evolution of every family, tribe, nation, or race, when the calibre of its women-folk must stand forth as a sing of what the group itself stands for . . . what the group is willing to work for . . . what the group is willing to look up to . . . what the group is willing to die for.

* * *

Women Much Slandered . . .

When "your folks" emerged from slavery, Mac . . . and for years following the early Reconstruction period, it was trite observation that "the colored woman's bed is the playground of the world." Everybody, so the implication went, was welcome. In a state of abject helplessness, the woman of color was disdainfully maligned, and men of bias lifted their vile voices even in the halls of the United States Senate to opine that the only difference between a Negro woman and a cow was that the heifer's udders hung down.

But it took women like Mrs. Lucille McDonald to make contemptible lies out of them. And that's why this "corner" pauses to applaud her memory. Mrs. McDonald was a "lady" . . . providing that word has any meaning left in this day of "cats" and "chicks," and "lady bears" out there!

But, assuming that the word "lady" does have significance, even in these sophisticated times, suppose we follow the deal on down.

Physically, Mrs. McDonald was a woman who possessed in full all of the traditional attributes which most Negroes have, according to the stereotype, admired and desired most in their women. She was a very fair-skinned woman with silky, sun-burnished hair (silvery white in her old age). She had well-molded facial features. Her limbs were symmetrically formed. She owned light colored eyes, and a warm and vivacious temperament. Her smile was devastating. Her voice had the low-pitched contralto timbre that was at once soothing and disturbing.

For looks such as hers black men had been lynched or run out of the South, and white men had gambled conjugal bliss, and in many instances completely eschewed it.

* * *

Sense-Sapping Beauties . . .

Yes, sir, Mister, the "corner" is sure that you have heard or read about sense-sapping beauty of the women of color of the deep South . . . of the Creole beauties and the like, who bloomed so temptingly on the stagnant waters of miscegenation as practiced in areas down home and elsewhere.

Well, Jackson, some of those women were ladies to their finger tips. One of them was Mrs. McDonald. For her looks many a black man echoed the words of one of their number who said, "I'd walk barefooted on a barbed-wire fence from here to New York City with a wampus cat under each arm just to ask the doctor if ten tons of her "jive" would hurt me . . . and if the doctor said "yes," I'd walk all the way back just to get that ten tons."

Mrs. McDonald was a physically beautiful woman . . . but she bore her beauty beautifully. She was the mother of brown children. Her husband was a colored man.

Mrs. McDonald was a gracious woman. She taught for many years in the public schools of the deep South. She taught in private schools, having served as a teacher in one of the Mid-South's best known institutions, Rust College, at Holly Springs, Miss. She was a Mississippian by birth. She was a teacher of sewing. One of her greatest delights as a home economics teacher at Booker T. Washington High School in Memphis where she taught until her retirement a few years ago, was the making of costumes for that institution's famed annual spring "ballets." She would spend her own money . . . and spend long hours just to make fantastic outfits for some little bugle-eyed amateur "chorine" who expected to stop the "show" with her gyrations in the right outfit. Mrs. "Mac" was like that. And that's why thousands mourned her death, despite the fact that they realized she had lived her years fully and usefully beautiful.

* * *

She Had a Gift . . .

They liked the way she would "talk" to a body when excitement was in the air . . . when it was time for the "show" to go on . . . when the difference of a yard of cloth and the payment of a few pennies meant triumph or abject disgrace to some youngster whose chance to dodge utter frustration depended on "being in the spotlight for the minute the school show promised." Mrs. McDonald always managed to "talk" in such a way as to get that needed costume finished and see that Little Sallies and Sams got on stage on time . . . even when it cost her money . . . cost her personal time . . . and personal expenditure of needed energy. She could "talk" the most anxious amateur teacher show producer (and they're the worst) into waiting another "minute."

Maybe the finest aspect of Mrs. McDonald's life was the way she walked . . . The manner in which she lived her life with other colored folk.

She was kind to everybody. She was a gracious person. Unlike many mulattoes she was not clannish in the sense that many of that breed of colored folk is stand-offish. Apparently she hadn't heard about, or didn't know that down in Haiti, in the Dominican Republic, in most places in South America, and at one time, in many urban centers in the United States (maybe now), the brethren of lighter hue somehow or other seem to have a sneaking suspicion that they were little bits of God broken off . . . and therefore ought to be treated a bit differently from the rest of God's chillun.

* * *

'Twas Real Ticklish . . .

Now, the "corner" realized that this is a ticklish angle for any discussion of interracial relations. But . . . since the best way to "terminate termites" is to drag them into the lights of truth and open discussion . . . we might as well proceed . . . especially when such a fine springboard as the career of a great mulatto woman is at hand.

Mrs. McDonald recognized the "common plight" of all folk who "admit" that they are Negroes. This "corner" often wondered out loud to her just why she chose this course of life. And in answer, she would point out that "when folk place stress on color and texture of hair, they're admitting a serious weakness of character and a lack of courage to face up to life as it is . . . because a real person is a real person . . . no matter how he or she might look . . . the fundamental values rest in what you are . . . not what you look like . . ."

Mac, "Miz' Mac" was a lady . . . now, whatchubet!!!

And, maybe it's appropriate here to close with this observation . . . An angry officer bawled, "Hey, where 'yer going? Don't you know this is a one-day street?"

"Well, answered Abie, "Vat's the matter with you—ain't I only going one way?"

What do you make of that? Mrs. McDonald would know . . . whatchubet! Ho. Ha. Ha. Ha!!!

Down on Beale

31A negro

By NAT D. WILLIAMS

Listen, Mac,
It's really a fact
You pay a tax
For being black!

—SWIMPH.

* * *

The Negro Tax . . .

MEMPHIS—Ever heard of a "Negro tax?" Well, that's what's Beale Streeters are talking about currently down here on "Indigo Avenue."

Corner

It seems the whole thing got started about a year or so ago following public discussion of several proposed public projects for the immediate benefit of Negroes in these parts . . . such as publicly supported hospital and a couple of other developments which would need public funds to help maintain them.

Sat 4-8-50

In the public discussions . . . indulged in by both black and white . . . the white side of the fence kept up that traditional refrain, heard from time to time, to the effect that "Negroes don't pay a proportionate share of the local, state and Federal taxes . . . that in fact, whites pay the overwhelming bulk of the public funds which sustain facilities for publicly supported educational institutions for Negroes, public hospitals, recreational facilities, and the like."

Pittsburgh Pa.

Well, the Beale Street "students of taxation" take a position that somebody's trying to drop a "mess of soft jive" into the public ear. And the manner in which they sustain their point is interesting indeed-y.

So, the "corner" thought it would be well to pass on some of these beige arguments on an important subject which rarely, if ever, gets space in the public prints. Maybe some other brother in color in some other community can find some good "meat" to knaw on and digest for the benefit of his neighbors with the achromatic pallor . . . "white folks," to you, Mr. Willie!

* * *

They Oughta Pay More . . . But Don't!

One Beale Street point, which is as sharp as a needle, is that if our white neighbors do pay a larger proportion of local, state and Federal taxes, it's no more than they ought to do. There're more of them. They own practically everything in the country. They set up the tax rate . . . collect the taxes . . . and spend the taxes. That's why they're in position to say who's paying what. Thus, giving themselves the benefit of the "friendly pat on the back" . . . and giving other groups, situated like the Negro, a swift and periodic "kick in the teeth."

With the self-righteous smirk of a hypocritical bloke who has happily found an easy way to appease a trouled conscience (such as he has left), Beale Streeters opine that the guys who keep yapping that Negroes don't pay taxes in proportion to their numbers and "economic take" in their city and state are doing some "tall jivin'" . . . or, they're just plain dumb.

Then, too, the Beale Street "tax experts" observe that when they (Beale Streeters) pay rent for one of Mr. Charlie's houses, they're paying Mr. Charlie's taxes, too. It's included in the rent. They observe that every time they purchase a loaf of bread, Mr. Charlie gets his taxes. Every time they go to Mr. Charlie's shoe store, or enter his department store . . . or step up on a bus . . . or buy a theatre ticket . . . or "knock" themselves to a week-end bottle of cheap gin, Mr. Charlie is collecting his next year's taxes . . . sometimes the worth of the gin is not as much as the tax on it.

Next observation was that when a Beale Streeter owns a house and lot . . . usually in the least desirable part of town . . . his property tax is assessed so high that he pays . . . in proportion . . . about three times as much tax for his four-room "shot-gun" frame, in Roper's Alley, as Mr. Charlie pays for his eight-room, egg-shell pink stucco in Chickasaw Gardens.

* * *

Taxes Take on 'Color' . . .

Furthermore, Mr. Charlie is keeping all the books on the tax collections, and "Sam 'n' Them" have no real knowledge of just how much is being put in the public till . . . other than what the man with the closely guarded books tells him in round numbers . . . round numbers that take no account . . . other than to "bring him down" . . . of the corner that Sam's in when he lays his taxes on the line. And that leaves "your folks" in the middle, with nothing but the word of a man with a "vested interest" to take.

Another keen crack by Beale Streeters on tax is that colored folk are paying a tax . . . for being colored . . . when they pay a higher fire insurance rate because of the type of construction of the houses they live in and due to the location of said houses. Negroes pay a higher proportion of public taxes when they are forced to accept inferior transportation services, recreational facilities, medical care . . . inferior food, clothes, and shoes . . . inferior schools, church edifices, and theatres where inferior pictures are shown them . . . unless they're willing to hie themselves to the "Crow's Nest," or wait a year or so to see a first-film . . . and all bought or sold at the same proportionate, and most times literal prices that white folk pay.

Now, somebody is getting what Sam's putting down. And somebody is "hepped" to the fact that granted the same amount of services and goods for the same money, "Sam 'n' Them" would have a greater amount of money to pay for legitimate taxes. Now, whatchubet!

It doesn't altogether make sense to slap a guy in the face with a sack of wet mud, and then hold him up to ridicule for being muddy. The Beale Streeters are beginning . . . out of sheer self-defense . . . to think out loud about this paradoxical situation.

* * *

But the 'Real' Thing Is . . .

One Beale Streeter waxed lyrical with the following diatribe on the "Negro tax" situation. He said, "The joker in the deck comes up, though, when you consider the tax we Negreos have to pay when we try to help other Negroes, and thus ourselves, by supporting Negro businesses and professional folk. The average colored store-keeper . . . paying his "invisible" tax to Mr. Charlie . . . just naturally has to charge a few cents more for most of his goods and services. So, what does that add up to? Well, you know . . . it adds up to higher costs to the Negroes who patronize him . . . don't many, if any, white folk trade with him. So, that higher price colored folk pay for supporting a Negro business, might just as well be considered as a "tax."

"Every time a colored man patronizes any Negro . . . for buying clothes, food, or hair-straightener . . . every time he crosses the street to eat in a Negro-owned restaurant, he pays that extra "Negro tax" . . . he could get a meal at the Greek dump on the other corner . . . but, maybe he has a sense of pride, and a little self-respect . . . so, he goes to a colored restaurant where he can eat and feel something like a man at the same time . . . and not like an animal out at the zoo. Well, just as soon as he goes to the colored man's place, he might as well get set to pay his "race pride taxes" . . . 'cause he's just gonna have to pay more for what he gets in the colored place.

* * *

Beale Street 'Aside' . . .

A. J. Lee, Beale Street insurance man, was "knocked out" the other day, he stated, when he read of the fate decreed for that circus elephant down in Florida, which was slated to die for trampling a small white boy to death. Mr. Lee said it didn't make sense to read about what they did to the elephant for instinctively killing one white youngster . . . whereas the same breed of white folk refuse to mete out similar, or even really severe punishment to another animal (in human form), who cold-bloodedly killed three children, and parmanently crippled their father and older sister. Boy, don't white make a diffrunce! Ugh, Ugh, ugh-h-h-!!

But, laugh, darn ya, laugh . . . ha, ha, ha, ha, ha-a-a-a, Lawd!

Fay SAYS

Knew What Fans Wanted

BOB Satterfield got off the seat of his pants——a la Joe Louis—to knock out Lee Oma of Detroit in the sixth round at the Chicago Stadium on Wednesday night of last week. Bob almost accomplished the feat in the fifth but the bell sounded ending the round (it works automatically) at the nine count. Because Oma had been an 8 to 5 favorite in the betting—for reasons we are at loss to understand—the crowd was in an uproar and few—excluding 76-year-old Ike Bernstein, manager of Satterfield—heard the bell ending the round.

After the fight, Satterfield, who will meet Joey Maxim here under the auspices of the International Boxing club, admitted he knew the fight wasn't over because he watched the electric clock as the knockdown timekeeper was tolling off the count. So much for that.

It was a whale of a show but the attendance was far below expectations for such a good card. This was due to unfavorable publicity given Oma following his recent fight in Cincinnati.

OVER IN Berlin, Germany, Elkins Brothers, New Castle, Ind., heavyweight knocked out Heinz Tietze of Berlin in the fourth round of an eight rounder in the first American German ring program since World War II. A crowd of 25,000 watched the bouts which were held in the British sector.

To demonstrate that Herr Adolph Hitler's Aryan superiority was and is all cockeyed, a second Negro, one Gene Jones of Camden, N. J., a heavyweight, knocked out Adolph (no relation to Hitler) Kleinholdermann of Bad Durkhein in the first round.

Lloyd Marshall, a Sacramento, Calif., heavyweight, lost to Conny Rux when the referee stopped the bout in the second round due to a deep cut over Marshall's right eye.

"WE AIN'T doing so badly" commented our barbershop friend who took time out from his battle with Blackstone in preparation for his exams at the law school. He was speaking about the National amateur senior weight lifting contests held in Philadelphia. Melvin Wells of Buffalo, placed second only three points behind the winner in the "Mr. America for 1950" contest, but Wells, believe it or not, was named the "most muscular man of the year" and was awarded the first place trophy in the "best arms" class.

"The most popular weight lifter of the century" title went to John Davis, York, Pa., Negro, who won the heavyweight lifting championship.

WROTE Irving Vaughn in the Chicago Tribune of May 15 "The Cubs who had been having a lot of fun for themselves since the previous, suffered a violent collapse yesterday . . . The Pirates bashed them . . . and after that proceeded to do things in a fashion that chased the bulk of the 34,650 customers out of Wrigley Field before the final touch was applied, 16 to 9."

On Sunday, May 14, Edward Burns wired from Cleveland, "Thus did the Sox, who have won only four games in Cleveland in the last two years, absorb their sixth straight loss and their ninth in 11 games they have played since departing from Chicago on the last day of April."

Boy O, boy, just let one Negro sport writer hop on any Negro league club or justly criticize the play and the owners hit the ceiling. What the public wants is the truth. Any game with seven errors in it is a bad game and any game with nine errors in it is still worse and the 20 to 3 games whether played in a jerk water town or in a minor or major league park is bound to cause fans to grumble.

WITH ALL the razzing, the Cubs drew 17,708 on May 13, and the 34,650 on May 14. The Chicago American Giants, playing a twin bill against the Memphis Red Sox, could draw but 4,500 on Sunday.

Maybe Rube Foster had the right idea. If his team played ragged baseball, he wanted you to write it just as you saw it. He didn't want any covering up and he never found his way into any publisher's office to lay complaints or attempt to get any sport writer discharged.

He busied himself on the street corners meeting all the fans who kidded him and he did the same to them. He never held himself aloof and was as accessible as the man who cleans up the streets. And in so doing he drew people and was popular. He had a winning team. He knew baseball—and HE KNEW THE FANS.

Dixie's Citizens Are Justly Incensed at the Behavior of the 'Civil Rights Congress'

Constitution Jan. 1-30-50, Atlanta Ga. 31a

By HODDING CARTER

Editor Delta Democrat-Times Greenville, Miss.

A UNITED STATES Supreme Court justice last Wednesday granted a stay of execution for Willie McGee, a Mississippi Negro who has three times been convicted and sentenced to death for the rape of a Mississippi housewife. Once before in the five-year-old case, the court had refused to intervene.

The stay came the day before McGee was to be executed and a day after the governor of Mississippi had listened to what was virtually a demand from spokesmen of the Civil Rights Congress that McGee's execution be stayed. On the same day, the Mississippi Supreme Court refused a stay.

EVIDENCE OF GUILT

There is no connection, of course, between the action of Justice Burton of the U. S. Supreme Court and the show put on by the Civil Rights Congress, an organization which the Justice Department has described as subversive. Nor, if the stay enables the attorneys for McGee to bring forth any evidence disproving his guilt, should the behavior of the Civil Rights Congress spokesmen prejudice the citizens of Mississippi as to the case itself. As a matter of fact and of record, the evidence of guilt is overwhelming and it is doubtful that the Supreme Court will reverse the Mississippi courts.

But the people of this state and of the South have the right to be incensed by the statements of the Civil Rights Congress delegation, and especially the comment of its leader that "legal lynchings have succeeded open mob violence in the South."

That is typical party line tactics. The Civil Rights Congress cannot disprove the fact that lynchings have been virtually ended in the South. But it cannot afford to give the South credit; and so its orators simply say that the Southern courts are taking up where Southern mobs have left off. It's a clever tactic. It makes headlines. In all probability the spokesman's assertion, a deliberate lie in itself, was carried by newspapers all over the nation.

BAD NEWS FOR THEM

There are miscarriages of justice in the South as elsewhere. But they are fewer now. Trial judges and juries and state Supreme Courts are not "lynching" Negro defendants. To the contrary, court records and newspaper headlines in the South alike indicate that public opinion and the law are combining to create the actuality of equal justice—not everywhere and not all the time, but more and more times, and in more and more places.

And this is bad news for the subversives, for the deliberate inflamers of racial ill will, for the Communists who perish where truth exposes and fairness rules and who thrive on suspicion and discontent. The Civil Rights Congress sought to make a field day of the hearing in Jackson, not for the sake of the life a condemned Negro but because of the opportunity to pit section against section and color against color. It wanted to make a Mississippi governor angry enough to utter intemperate remarks or otherwise make himself and his state look ridiculous or brutal. Instead, the governor fooled them. And so, the demonstrators had to rely on the willful mistruth that Southern courts are in effect simply legalized mobs.

The way to answer is not by retaliating in kind. The way is to cite the record and to add to the record whenever possible.

DORIS LOCKERMAN

31a white

The Hummon Bird Flies Backwards

Remember the Wahoo Bird? He was the feathered character who spent his lifetime flying backwards. He liked to see where he'd been and he didn't care a rap where he was going. They said the Wahoo was extinct, along with the Dodo, but I think maybe his soul just transmigrated and is going right on.

That could explain the attitude of a current political candidate who is so dead set on saying where he has been, that he can't tell where he's headed.

The Hummon Bird, for instance, has been afflicted with looking backwards even before he was elected to the Governorship. He campaigned his first time looking at the old budget figures of yesteryear, saying that economy was the watchword, and promising no new taxes unless the people themselves said it would be all right, by referendum.

Atlanta, Ga.

He was walking right into a trap, but he didn't know it. How could he, facing backward as he was?

Journal-Constitution

In the first General Assembly after he was the Boss, he spent his time gazing back at the strange voting that had gone on when he was a write-in candidate against his late father, and came up with a dubious law to require re-registration of voters. People kept telling him there was going to be an emergency in welfare and health and schools, but that wasn't the direction he was looking.

So, no sooner had the Legislators folded up and gone home than sure enough, emergencies began popping up! Old-age pension money gave out for one thing, and the wail of misery that arose in all quarters grew too strong to ignore.

It looked like they'd have to have new taxes anyway, so Herman up and ordered that Referendum. School people begged the citizens to approve it, relief people asked for help, but the Governor, looking back on his old promise of no new taxes and remembering his brag about economy, laid low.

The Referendum failed.

But the need still was there.

So the young man in the Mansion ordered him a Special Session of the Legislature and he took his stand. "I am on the side of the old, the needy," he said, in a flamboyant speech, "and we are going to have more money to help those poor suffering people."

He didn't say much about where it was coming from, but he got it. He broke his promise to do it, but most of the people didn't realize it because it didn't touch them, except indirectly in the things they bought and needed.

Now another primary is at hand, and the young Governor is still campaigning with his eyes set straight behind him.

6-25-50

He is telling the people what he's done for them, omitting any reference to how it was done, or how tardily it was done, or how much it cost, and telling the voters that the only issues of the day are FEPC and the County Unit System.

He says Segregation and the perils of FEPC have been shadowing Georgia since his father's heyday and that the Talmadge Family has always warned the people of their incipient evils.

There have been no hints that Talmadge will hasten to lead Georgia to rectify its inequalities educationally, nor to unmask the Klan to remove fear from the lives of colored citizens, thereby shielding the State from the strong demands of the Federal Government in the name of a needy segment of Americans. He only repeats his battle cry: "No Negroes will sit in classrooms with white children while I am your Governor!"

When he is pressed, Governor Talmadge will admit we must finance the Minimum Foundation of Education, which has been done on the statutes of Georgia now for all of his three sessions of the Legislature without appropriation. He will not say how he proposes to do it.

Privately, Talmadge's friends admit there will be a sales tax and they say Herman is preparing for it by making no promises against it. His silence gives tacit consent.

I still think it will surprise some of his followers when they find the sales tax on the books, with his signature. They think they're voting against it when they mark an X for Herman.

That, however, is something for the days ahead, and he does not worry about what is to come. The Hummon Bird always flies backward.

RALPH McGILL

31a White

Old Chimneys Tell a Story

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — Prophets, minor and great, comfort themselves, even though no one else remembers, when their predictions come true.

At least 15 years ago, I was writing rural essays about the lonely sentinels of old chimneys which marked places where once a house had stood and a hearth had been, before which a man and a woman had sat late at night, talking while their children slept—deciding to give up farming.

Here at such hearths, decisions had been made to go to "Deetroit" to Philadelphia, to New York, to the great, beckoning cities which have been, and are, to Americans seeking opportunity, what the Statue of Liberty is to foreigners who come to us seeking that same economic chance.

The empty cabins, with their doors swinging on loose hinges; the old abandoned houses with their windowpanes knocked out by passing boys and hunters—all these cried out, saying, "The people have left."

They have gone to town—white and Negro.

Constitution

No Return

There has never been any "return to the land." That is a phrase much talked about. Speakers, especially men who had rural backgrounds, speak well of it and urge it—on others.

But, the painful truth is that farm population began to turn downward fast in 1910. By 1940 the trend was complete. In that year the heavily rural Negro population of America changed to an urban one. Today about 60 percent of all Americans live in cities and three-fifths of all the Negroes are in cities. Our food is produced by about 18 percent of our population.

Anyone who was writing about it ten and more years ago sees his essays confirmed with an emphasis which is a bit frightening if one considers all the aspects.

That is why it is so maddening to have the Ku Klux Klan carrying on with its un-American, un-Christian, Communist-aiding activities in a situation of enormous complexity.

That is why it is so distressing to have candidates for office talking with great irresponsibility of the problem, as if it were one to be solved by defiance or boasting breast-beatings.

Migrants

Let us recognize that the face of America is changing. The industrial revolution continues.

The people who go to town are truly "displaced persons."

They are white and Negro.

The bitter truth is, the small farmer—the white and Negro tenant, cropper and renter—is being squeezed off the land. We have created a society in which he has little part or place.

Without at all realizing it, apparently, until it is almost too late, we have made the trend from cotton to livestock, a program requiring capital and years in which to build pastures, one which makes the new agriculture almost a monopoly of those who have adequate, ready capital or access to federal credit, such as the GI loans. The small farmer is disappearing and it is not good that he is.

Farm credit, which was built around cotton and other annual cash crops, has remained rigid and does not provide enough resiliency for the small or average farmer to enlarge his small holdings and remain "in business."

Drift

The Congress has, unwittingly or callously, ignored the disappearance of the small farmers from the land.

The crowded cities receive many of them. They fill up the slums. They are largely unskilled. They drift into crime. They fit into the numbers racket. They drift into thievery and worse.

In Chicago last fall, a study revealed that about half the crime was committed by migrants who had come to Chicago from all over America, including the farms of the South. About half the charity hospital load was from these same people. Sixty percent of relief cases came from their crowded alleys. The schools had a tremendous burden. All social-service agencies were taxed beyond capacity.

It is a very serious national problem, though it be concentrated in its heaviest forms in the great cities of the East and Midwest to the Mississippi, and then jumps to California's two major cities. It includes our own.

What about the small farmer and his future? The process which pushes him out pushes us also toward more "socialism." If we lose him, we lose something vital to America.

RALPH McGILL

31a

Constitution

More Talking, Less Thinking

COLUMBIA, S. C.—One of the several misconceptions entertained outside the South is that all Southern States have exactly the same racial attitudes.

The more thoughtful student will not have failed to note there is a degree of tension and demagoguery which may be arrived at by a simple mathematical formula.

Let X represent the white population and Y the Negro. Then X plus Y will equal the hysterical, illogical, unrestrained, denunciation of the Negro by the region's political extremists.

It is by no means a coincidence that Mississippi, South Carolina and Georgia have had more harsh and unceasing "politics of color" than other Southern States.

In these States there have been temperate and able leaders. Their names relatively are unknown. The race orators are remembered by the violence of their words and by the wounds which will not heal.

A mere 50 years ago the Negro population of South Carolina was 58.4 percent. In 1940 it was 42.9 percent. The estimate for 1950 is about 42.5 percent. Industry has come to help hold some who otherwise would have left the State. This figure compares, for example, with Georgia's percentage of roughly 34 percent and Mississippi's 49.5. Only nine of South Carolina's 46 counties have less than 30 percent Negro population, while 22 have more than 50 percent.

Our Southern politics are enormously complex, arising out of the economic and social crises of the past, but whatever portion of our political anatomy it is the student would examine, he will find somewhere in it the problem of race.

7-8-50

That is exactly the reason why rabble-rousing and demagoguery are so stupid an approach to the problem. And it also is the specific reason why, since all of our political past has been devoted to senseless repression, the South now finds itself in so desperate a plight as it seeks to escape the trap it invented, created and baited—separate but equal facilities.

Senate Race

It also is why the more thoughtful citizens of South Carolina are concerned with the Senate race in which Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond, present Governor, is seeking to unseat Olin Johnson.

Both are running loudly and furiously on anti-Negro and anti-Harry Truman platforms.

Thurmond says he will not take a dime of Federal aid to education. Johnson says he will take it and that it will be up to Democratic Senators, not Dixiecrats, to see to it that the aid comes to segregated schools in the Southern tradition.

Ironically, Thurmond, who was a paratrooper in the recent war, is all out for aid to Europe, while Johnson is hot against it, teaming with Byrd of Virginia as the only two real opposition votes from the South. The Administration is not greatly concerned which man wins.

This is the only issue they discuss which is not tarred with racial prejudices. Thurmond hammers away with the weapons supplied him by the Supreme Court decisions in Texas and Oklahoma and the unsegregated dining car verdict. He also assails the recent Senate vote not to allow selective service men to designate segregated service.

"He is a Trumanite," he cries, in his flat, high-pitched voice, pointing at Johnson, and his adherents give voice in glee.

Olin Johnson, former cotton mill worker, who came up the hard way and went from three terms as Governor, to the Senate, is a tough man to handle, and were it not for the Supreme Court cases he would be a favorite to win.

There is a lot of money being spent against him. The state is flooded with the most virulent, false and hysterical pamphlets, all anonymously paid for and distributed.

Johnson's supporters hope the farmers will stand by their old favorite and that the textile workers will be equally faithful.

Thurmond has been working harder than Johnson. He scents victory, and he knew from the start he had to dent the mill vote. Hence, he has been found at the gates of big plants greeting the shifts coming on and going off at midnight, passing out pamphlets and asking for votes. Much of the anonymous pamphleteering has been directed at the mill workers, telling them Johnson aims to put Negroes beside them, and to farmers saying their children will be put into Negro schools.

Still No Turning—

It gets votes—as three Southern primaries have proved—but it still doesn't make sense, and it still is harmful to America. There must be another approach, but the long lane of Southern politics shows yet no sign of a turn. Few have said, as has James F. Byrnes in the governor's race, that we need more thinking and less talking.

RALPH

McGILL

-Neither Does He Rant!

CHARLESTON, S. C.—Here dwell, it is said, the only Southerners who are not secretly envious of the Virginians. Indeed, they entertain for the citizens of the Old Dominion an easy, kindly tolerance.

Nor is Charleston surprised the state's political preoccupation with the Negro has attained perhaps its most disorderly crescendo in a long history including Ben Tillman, Cole Blease and Cotton Ed Smith.

A calm lady assured me it was not unexpected the campaign for the Senate should be pitched on such a stridently primitive basis since both candidates are upcountry, or hill men, . . . the Messeurs Olin Johnson, incumbent, and Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond, contender. (The primary is July 11)

"Note," she continued, "how discreetly the gubernatorial competition is being conducted. A Charleston man is setting the standard. To be sure, he is not truly a Charlestonian, but he was born here and he is a gentleman."

James F. Byrnes

She referred, of course, to James Francis Byrnes, the Palmetto state's most distinguished son of modern times. "The dying lorgnette set," said my informant, "will always think of Jimmy as shanty Irish, but being born here gives him a sort of distinction in their eyes which offsets the fact he spent most of his life as an upcountry lawyer and politician. For the rest of us, of course, he is a great American whose story is in our best tradition. He was an orphan from birth and he rose from poverty to distinction. For note, he is a distinguished man, not a man of distinction."

There is no anti-Negro flavor to the governor's race, which somewhat surprisingly brings Jimmy Byrnes back to his native state's politics as a contender for that office. He has served as a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, as Secretary of State, as "Assistant President," and in top drawer wartime administrative positions.

Mr. Byrnes campaigns for the office with aristocratic austerity. There are no cards tacked to telephone poles or old walls imploring the people to vote for him. There are no flyspecked placards in beer hall or cafe windows mutely appealing for ballots for Byrnes.

Candidates

South Carolina's party law requires all candidates for State offices to speak from the same platform in each of the 46 counties. Candidate Byrnes arrives at the designated sites in his chauffeur-driven, white-side-walled-tires, iridescently-shiny Cadillac. He stands aside—and greets friends until it is his time to speak. He then walks to the rostrum, immaculate, cool and impeccable of manner, and speaks to the people. He sweats not, neither does he rant. He does not note or mention his opponents. When he is done, he disappears, leaving his perspiring rivals to do what they will.

Of these, only Marcus Aurelius Stone seems to be aroused to anguish by such gentility in politics. Brother Stone winces and cries aloud, saying that Jimmy Byrnes was Molotov's little poodle dog at Yalta, and as Secretary of State fumbled the ball when the game was won and thereby did the country more harm than all other secretaries put together.

The others make polite passes at their distinguished opponent, referring to his age, which is only 71, and suggesting that as he is already heavily laden with honors from his state and nation he should step aside and allow a younger man to have a chance. Much of their endeavor is impotent, as most of the crowd waits on Mr. Byrnes to arrive, enters and departs with him.

Meaning

While the campaign goes as mildly as a high school declamation contest, save for Brother Stone's efforts, only the naive would miss the national importance of what is being said.

Jimmy Byrnes, if elected as expected, will take over leadership of the Southern bloc against Harry S. Truman. The crude, vulgar and hypocritical Dixiecrat campaign will be replaced by the polished plans of the former Secretary of State, who was once almost named as Vice President, only to be put aside for the Missourian—which possibly may be just the reason he is now a candidate for governor.

"I will seek to enlist the aid of other states in stopping the trend toward centralization of government and socialization," he says, and the crowds rarely seem to comprehend his meaning.

But the meaning of it is there and it looms on the horizon of Southern politics as nothing has since the days of Populism in the nineties.

RALPH

McGILL

With Arched, Enquiring Brows

About mid-morning on Thursday in the City of Atlanta and in an air-cooled, smoke-filled hotel room I imagine a very brief little drama took place.

That is to say Roy Harris, political entrepreneur, looked at Herman Talmadge, Governor of Georgia, each with arched, enquiring brows. Then both nodded in agreement.

That's all the drama. The title of it is:

"No more early primaries."

The Talmadge forces won easily and about as expected in net results. But, the size of the Thompson popular vote surprised them. The landslide which had with reason been anticipated would be moving before midnight did not develop. As they waited for it, not quite understanding, they began to note the size of the Thompson totals. They were not always ahead of Gov. Talmadge.

But they were always within reaching distance.

The Governor remained in front in unit votes. But he could not shake off the fellow at his elbow in popular votes. Indeed, pretty soon he was himself the fellow at the elbow of his contestant.

In some counties there was a decision that the lights were bad on the eyes and the counting was best put off until daylight. This seemed, in not a few instances, to improve the quality of the counting, a phenomena not at all new to Georgia political mathematics. Some of the boys, confronted with the Herculean task of counting a total ballot of 700 or 800 votes, simply can't get it done in a night.

Farmers

For some reason the farmers didn't take to the primary. Thousands of them stayed at home, either on the cool front porches or in the hot fields.

Indeed, the Governor, after speaking of the wicked votes in the cities, emerged from the voting with his only gains over two years ago obtained in the cities. The rural districts were away off in their voting. Usually they take to elections like a boy to fried chicken. But not this time.

Our voting rules were made years ago because we were what we still are to a large extent—a rural State. The primaries were set for the time when the cotton was picked and ginned and the Summer work laid by. The farmer could frolic a bit, attend barbecues and listen to speeches. He also could go to the polls.

There was nothing illegal about the early primary. It was set so as to prevent possible opposition from developing.

My guess is there will not be another.

The argument now is the farmers were not unenthusiastic, but busy. In South Georgia they are curing tobacco and that is a hard chore which takes a man's time night and day, even if he has an oil-stove and doesn't have to fool with the slow, tedious, hand-firing job. In Middle and North Georgia they are plowing the young corn.

That's an argument. But the facts still seem to be the farmers were not much interested in the State campaigns. In some few counties — always faithful counties—there were administration surprises as the totals actually went the other way.

Negro Vote

While there will be the usual charges made, the facts are that the Negro vote was not a bloc vote. Thousands of Negroes did not vote at all—being among the more than half a million who did not go to the polls.

This was not surprising. One of the reasons why many people didn't go was that Mr. Thompson tried to make the race one in which the competition was to see who could appear most like the late Eugene Talmadge. Indeed, this sort of activity reached such a state, and Mr. Thompson was being complimented so greatly on his resemblance to the late Eugene Talmadge, that Mrs. Eugene Talmadge became indignant and made a public statement. She said it was a poor act, thus happily putting a stop to what was at best a weird, unprofitable contest.

Gov. Talmadge got a share of those Negroes who did vote. In many of the rural counties the local bosses have seen to it the Negro has been registered. There is a reason to believe that any venality in the Negro vote is to be found in the small, closely controlled counties where a plurality will carry the unit votes, and not in the cities. If they can control Negro votes they have that much more effective hold on their counties and they will blackmail the gubernatorial candidates more avidly.

But, what I started to say was the early primary is out.

Farm, Industrial Revolution On In South, McGill Says

MIAMI BEACH, FLA., Nov. 9—(AP)—The South is experiencing an agricultural and industrial revolution, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, said Thursday.

Speaking before some 500 delegates attending the 31st annual convention of the national journalistic fraternity, Sigma Delta Chi, McGill said the "New South" is on the way economically, politically and socially.

The Atlanta editor and columnist pointed to Florida as "a perfect example" of what is taking place in the southern states, adding that "Florida seems to progress a little faster than the rest of us."

McGill told editors and top journalists from all over the nation that since 1865 "the South opposed the unmistakable trends of an expanding nation in liberty, democracy and economics and attempted to live under and defend a government which legalized slavery and which ignored industry for a plantation economy."

The South has progressed, he said, but "we still have too little investment in heavy industry. We have almost no tool industry and little of our agricultural machinery is made in the South."

Grove Patterson, editor-in-chief of the Toledo (Ohio) Blade, said in his opinion the number one need of the country is an aristocracy.

He said that newspapers "must assume a leadership such as we never have known before.

"Russia is not engaged in making war on any nation," he continued, "but is engaged in making war on every nation that is not now under her domination."

"I believe in the democracy of opportunity," he explained, "but I believe in the aristocracy of quality."

Patterson told of the role being played by the nation's press.

"All great reforms begin first in the hearts and the minds of a few and work from the inside out, never from the outside in."

RALPH McGILL

A Hindu Looks at Us

India's caste system is as old as India itself. It is one of the most severe and complex systems of segregation. At its base are the "untouchables," who have been "Jim-Crowed" in an unbelievably cruel fashion for some 20 centuries.

Chalapathi Rau, editor of the Herald of Lucknow, India, one of the most able journalists in all that vast sub-continent, is a visitor in the United States.

Five years ago I talked with him in New Delhi, at a time when Indian nationalism was at white heat. It was the last year of the war. Germany's defeat was apparent, although the Nazi lines still held. But Indians saw that the slow turn of events had made impossible any further defense of colonialism, and that Indian independence was near.

Caste

Gandhi had declared against caste and had especially condemned the restrictions binding the Untouchables, so-called because they were the doers of the most menial of tasks. These millions were without any rights or privileges, civil or religious. They were so bound by caste that if a shadow of one of them fell across a person of higher caste that person was defiled and was required to be cleansed.

Nehru, Gandhi's chief disciple, had joined him in that decision.

Five years ago Rau, who is intelligent and by no means provincial in his outlook, of course saw the enormous task of assaulting the walls and customs erected by many centuries of observance, backed by religion.

It is important to keep in mind that in a government which is even partially democratic, change can come only as fast as the people will it. If reform is dictated and supported by police powers, it lasts only so long as the power is there to enforce it. In India there was no great public will to end the caste system.

We talked at the time of the problem in America where the racial problem and its system of caste was agitating the United States and the world, providing the Soviets with propaganda to persuade the Orientals and Asiatics that the States were indeed one vast Ku Klux Klan, devoted to violence toward, and exploitation of, the colored peoples everywhere.

"I understand," he said five years ago, "and I am not one who thoughtlessly condemns. Yet I can say to you that your problem is the more dangerous, propaganda-wise, than our own, for a paradoxical reason. Our great injustices toward our own people do not excite the rest of Asia because we are all Indians, and all, more or less, brown people. Your problem has been distorted by your enemies, and also by some of your own people, into simply one of white people vs. colored peoples. The fools among you seem to affirm that. We are lucky in that our fools can't so twist our predicament."

Truth

His analysis was entirely correct. On seeing him again, here in America, I asked him about the situation in India. I knew laws had been passed abolishing the castes and freeing the Untouchables. (There were about 53,000,000 of them and their lot for centuries was worse than that of slaves under the worst masters. They were not allowed schools, or temples. Some were allowed out only at night—sight of them "defiled.")

He shrugged. "The law is there," he said, "but there is yet little enforcement. We who believe in it will do all we can to speed it. But we will not make much progress until the people join us. But your problem, despite the great progress made in improving the position of the Negro, still is of great harm to the United States because your enemies have made of it what they have. That is why millions of Asiatics and Orientals have been persuaded the British and Americans are hostile to them and their interests."

He is right. The Ku Klux Klan state of mind has been, and is, the best little helper communism has.

Nowhere in the world has a once-subject race made as much progress, nowhere does one enjoy as many rights as in America. There are racial and religious discriminations elsewhere far greater than those we endure.

Yet, as in 1860, we are on the wrong side of a moral question and all that is right about it, does not, and never will, outweigh what is wrong.

That is our predicament. It will change only as the people will it. But change it will. Those of both races—who possess adult minds—will realize that in a democratic government the consent of the people is the only bulldozer which so levels old walls that no one is able to rebuild them.

RALPH McGILL

Georgia Gets A Transfusion

While the Democratic Party was severely kicked in the shins on last Tuesday, democracy was receiving a healthy transfusion in the State of Georgia, and the story merits its national attention for a number of reasons. One is that it is on the plus side, and in late years not many political items from Georgia have been so evaluated.

Another factor is that the victory for the democratic processes was achieved over one of the most cynically brazen schemes to steal, and bind the elective processes of a state since the days when Louisiana was the personal political property of Huey Long.

A newspaperman anywhere can take pride in the achievement because it was the newspapers which led the fight for democratic principles. It was not the big city papers alone which carried the load. There were weekly and small daily papers which courageously and with great integrity met the issue of the big political lie which those who sought to take over the state kept before the people by a state-wide organization directed from a headquarters in the capital city of Atlanta.

Machinery

The machinery of the big steal was a constitutional amendment which would have imposed Georgia's curious and restrictive county unit primary system in the general election.

That system now applies in the party primary. Georgia has 159 counties. Eight of them are six-unit vote counties. There are 30 counties with four votes and the others have two each. Thus, it is entirely possible for a candidate to receive a large majority of votes and still be defeated.

Some who support it try to argue it is just like the electoral college system. It is not. It bears only the vaguest resemblance to it. Georgia's system is arbitrary, and not at all based on true population percentages. A two-vote county which might cast as few as 200 popular votes has a third as much strength as a county with 200,000 votes.

No other state in the Union has the system. Maryland has one something like it, but no other Southern state, and no other state in the Union employs it.

The supporters of it used the technique of the big lie.

Publicly they said they wanted to impose the unit system in the general election in November so as to protect the rural people from the city people. Privately they whispered the idea was to keep down the Negro vote. That Mississippi, and all other Southern states, with Negro populations as large or larger, have never had, and do not plan such a unit system, is obvious answer to that claim.

The real intent which they hoped to mask by the constant use of the big lie was to steal the state.

Once they had the unit system in the general election, the plan was to abolish all state laws governing the primary. Since Georgia is a one-party state, that would have left the entire political operation of the state in complete charge of the state committee.

Their rules would have been final. They would be able to appoint county committees; election officers, and any local, county candidate would have been forced to bow the knee to the state committee to become a candidate.

Since the laws would have been abolished, there would have been no appeal. The state committee would have been supreme.

As matters now stand the setting up of a Republican party in Georgia is difficult. With the unit system in the general election it would have been impossible.

Fight

It was difficult to fight the technique of the big lie and the pressure of the state administration which cracked the whip through patronage channels and which, reportedly, was privately suggesting certain roads might be built if the votes were right.

It was late when the county political leaders began to see the trap being dug for them. But they saw it, so did the people. With but few exceptions, the only substantial vote the big steal plan received was in counties where ruthless machine rule has been in force for years. Many of the rural counties, with fine patriotism and insight into the real motives behind the big lie, cast their votes against it.

We are all Americans together and that scheming men should seek to set small cities against large ones, and rural communities against their own county seat towns, is indicative of the deep political degradation and greed of such men who would destroy their own state for the sake of power.

Georgia has given the nation a fine story of democracy on the plus side.

RALPH

McGILL

Pinellas Story Worthy of Note

MIAMI, Fla. — In all the clamor of analytical assaults on the week's election results, one very significant fact of Southern politics was given but small attention.

In Pinellas County, Florida, of which the bustling and progressing city of St. Petersburg is the center, a Republican ticket swept every county office save one.

The Republican vote elected three members to the State Legislature; three members to the County Commission, five members to the County Utilities Board, and three to the School Board. The Democratic tax collector was the only incumbent to be re-elected.

Not only did the county go Republican, it gave to the GOP nominee for the U. S. Senate a majority of about 1,000 over the popular Democratic nominee, George Smathers, who had enough votes outside Pinellas to give him a very substantial victory.

All this happened in a county which has a Democratic registration of almost 50,000 and a Republican figure of less than 14,000.

St. Petersburg also has a relatively large labor vote.

Yet, for the first time in its history the county went Republican by a smashing margin.

Explanation

What happened, of course, is plain.

The Southern Democrats, who always vote Democratic in the national election, this time brushed aside the old bugaboo of the GOP label and voted their convictions locally.

I have heard men in the South say they would vote for the devil if he were on the Democratic ticket. This attitude is, of course, a holdover from reconstruction evils, and it also is one carefully nursed and nurtured by Democratic politicians in one-party States.

A substantial number of othwise intelligent men in the South will say, somewhat shame-facedly, they would vote a Republican ticket if it were called by some other name. There is reason for this as for years the Republican Party in the average Southern State was a dismal, corrupt outfit. Persons moving to the South from the North have a stock saying which pretty well illustrates what the Southern GOP has been for so many years.

"We find here in the South," they will say, "that the sort of people who were the worst in the Democratic Party up home are running the Republican organizations down here."

It was a true observation. But, of late years, there has been improvement. But courage has been lacking. A State Republican ticket, with decent, able men on it, would pick up a handsome vote in almost any Southern State, but the party has never felt like going to the expense of building a two-party system.

Georgia

It was fear of this which was one of the minor reasons for the attempt in Georgia to impose the county-unit system in the general election. The chief objective was, of course, to steal the State for a half dozen scheming politicians. But, a part of the plan was to make really impossible the development of a two-party system in the State with its threat to the State machine in the general election.

Now, Pinellas County, in the amazing State of Florida, has shown the way. Florida gained more population than any other Southern State. In 1930, the State had a total population of about 1,000,000. Today the City of Miami has a trading area of about 500,000 people and the State's total is almost 3,000,000. More than half of them were born in other States, and the Southern Commonwealths are all well represented here.

Florida becomes the first Southern State, aside from the border States, where the two-party system is likely to develop within a short time. I would say that by the time personable and able George Smathers is up for re-election six years hence, he will have a real campaign against a Republican.

Once Florida does it, the national GOP will be encouraged to assist other States with an opposition party. Save for Georgia's effort to isolate herself and to keep her politics in the strait-jacket of a corrupting, impoverishing unit system, the South offers the finest field for political development in the nation.

The little story of Pinellas County is worth noting.

RALPH

McGILL

James F. Byrnes Informs the KKK

South Carolina's James Francis Byrnes, governor elect, did a simple, decent, but necessary thing last week.

He took notice of the Ku Klux Klan outrages in his state and made a firm, plain statement about it. There was no double talk in what he said. Not even the dullest mind could fail to understand.

He said that while there were not many members in the Klans, persons outside the South and those in foreign countries didn't understand that fact. Therefore, it is necessary for the people in any state to put down this stupid organization because of the very real harm it does the country. (The Klan is officially listed as subversive, or harmful, to the United States as are the Communists.)

Governor-elect Byrnes informed the Klan that as long as he is governor, which will be for four years, the government of South Carolina will not need the help of any other organization to enforce the law and will not tolerate interference.

"There will be but one government in the state," he said, "and that is the one elected by the people. It will not allow any other organization to usurp the law."

That the governor of any state should fail to make such a statement is a measure of those failing that it should not have been made in the past years in South Carolina gives greater stature to James F. Byrnes.

The feists will snap at him and the curs will snarl. But he measures up as a man and as an American.

Events

It is proper to discuss the Klan and the Communists together because in the United States nothing has helped the Communist propaganda any more than the Klan. Its acts of violence, in which often sheriffs and police officers join, make it possible for the Soviets to say that the Americans' claim to law and justice is a lie.

To this very day the Russian radios delight in sending out to all those who listen every racial disorder in which the law is flouted. The fact that hooded men can, with seeming immunity, whip and kill other persons and that frequently the ranks of these people are found to contain peace officers, is of great assistance to the Communists.

It is no stretching of the truth to say that in America no organization is of more value to the Communists than the various Ku Klux Klans.

They are indeed Joe Stalin's little helpers.

As for the Klans, they are, as Governor-elect Byrnes said, not doing well.

I have in my possession copies of letters from a Florida Klan leader scorning the offer for sale of the Georgia membership list because, in the language of the Florida feuhrer, it is worthless.

Not only that, but the letters reveal that the one-time spiritual leader of the hoods in the Sunshine State has been banished because he preached violence and wanted too much of a financial cut. He reportedly has found a city of refuge in Georgia.

The Klans are not doing well in Florida either. In Jacksonville a successful criminal lawyer, with a reputation which causes newsmen to arch their eyebrows, finances a hate sheet along anti-Semitic lines. But, there is nowhere any rush to the colors because of it.

The Commies

The Commies are also traveling a rocky road. Homer B. Chase, the New England-born Commie assigned to the South, has been a weak reed for the Cominform to lean upon. The New York politburo has been aware of Homer's failings, and one of the mysteries has been why they have kept him on. The best guess is they haven't any replacements fit for the job.

The old Southern Commie-helpers of the 1930s, such as Don West, broke way from the Homer Chase brand. The pressure put on by the New York group during the Progressive party efforts in 1948 caused the non-Communist Wallace supporters to see the light long before Henry Wallace himself found the road to Damascus.

Here of late they have been having Homer, whose father was a Communist back in New Hampshire, on rather frequent calls. It would not be surprising if the Commies didn't send in someone else. Homer's record is almost entirely one of no hits, no runs and plenty of errors.

About the only help he has had has been from the Klansmen. This is why the Commies managed to get some small financial help to the Klans, sending it anonymously or turning it in through members they had in the organization.

RALPH McGILL

Doctor Frank's Unique Race

RALEIGH, N. C.—"Frank Graham," said a campaign worker, frustrated by the Tarheel Senator's Christian gentleness in a life-and-death political duel, "can be best described as a combination of the Savior and your father."

He meditated for a moment and added, "God knows he isn't a politician."

The mild little man whom thousands of North Carolinians know and love, and whom some few hate and despise, was for almost 20 years President of the University at Chapel Hill. He resigned to accept appointment to the Senate.

He has conducted a campaign unique in politics. The opposition to him, composed of the one-time demagogic champion "Buncombe Bob" Reynolds, and Willis Smith, an upstanding, austere, dignified lawyer, and a former President of the American Bar Association, has charged him with the heinous crime of being a liberal, which he is and which he has never denied.

"Buncombe Bob" has charged Communism and worse. Willis Smith has asserted the Senator is for the FEPC and for a too-liberal treatment of the race question. This is not borne out by the record

Opposed FEPC

The fact is Sen. Graham, while a member of the President's Commission on Civil Rights, opposed the compulsory FEPC. But, the wild-eyed charges continue, although published platforms of Smith and Graham are almost identical. Accompanying them are the usual products of the mean and little men with cesspool minds, who act without direction and without the knowledge of the candidates. They circulate all sorts of ugly and false cartoons, rumors and pictures. One of the latter, a photograph made in Great Britain during the war, shows white and colored persons together at a dance. Cheaply reproduced, its inky smears proclaim that it is what Frank Graham favors. This vicious distortion is something the South knows all too well in all her primary fights of the past 18 years.

What does Frank Graham do about all this? The answer is, not a thing in the world. He goes along talking about the great issues of the Marshall Plan and of the cold war. He speaks hopefully of peace. He discusses the South's progress

He reveals a very credulous simplicity of heart and soul which everyone who knows him realizes is his most priceless possession. He has always been that rare person, a genuine Christian in his public and private life. He sees no reason now to change. He goes blandly along, confident the people who shake his hand will vote for him. Sure in the belief that honesty is the best policy, and calm in the face of vituperative propaganda. To the jury and the falsehoods of his opponent he turns the other cheek.

He Won't Get Mad

"He won't get mad," his supporters say, wringing their hands. "If only just once he would wind up and slug it out with these liars."

But, he won't. As a matter of fact, he has never yet got around to asking the people to vote for him. He makes no plea. He just talks and when he has had his say, shakes hands and talks with the men and women who went to school with him or were in his Sunday School classes.

"If the meek are going to inherit the earth," said a cynical newspaper man, "maybe Frank will inherit the United States Senate seat."

To cap the climax, Sen. Graham has been sick for two weeks, worn out with speaking and thus made easy prey for one of the virus germs. During those two weeks there were speakers who filled in for him, but, he campaigned not at all.

It is a curious race in more ways than one. Most of the textile industry leaders are against him but not all. More than half the corporative heads of banks and industry are opposing him. But there is a substantial minority in all of them which is fighting desperately for "Doctor Frank." Meetings of Boards of Directors are strained and men who long have been friends are speaking coldly to one another. North Carolina isn't used to the sort of politics she has in this race. A lot of it is ugly and stirs prejudices the State hasn't known in more than a generation.

"Doctor Frank will win," said a young lady in his campaign office which, along with that of Willis Smith happens to be in my hotel. "It looks close, but when the voters get in the booth alone with only themselves and their conscience, they will mark the ballot for Doctor Frank. You wait and see."

RALPH McGILL

Politicking With Untruths

RALEIGH, N. C.—If the class in Southern Political Science will please come to order I will proceed with a simple illustration in how not to lose votes and influence people against you.

I hold in my hand the picture of a young Negro about 18 years of age. It is done on cheap paper. It is not offensive. The boy looks clean and neat. Under the picture there is a line, which reads, "Frank Graham sent him to West Point to school. Do you want him in school next to your children. Vote against Frank Graham."

Now, we will proceed with the lesson. Are there any questions?

Is the boy in the Military Academy at West Point?

No, he is not.

Has he ever been there?

No, he has never been there.

Then, why is the picture being sent out?

It is being sent out as a political weapon.

But, hasn't the truth been told about it?

Oh, yes, the truth has been told. But, if an untruth is circulated widely enough it will reach a number who will never hear the truth. That is what is known as McCarthy-ism and widely practiced in the Senate and imitated by politicians elsewhere.

Faced Issue

You ask me what the truth is? It is a pleasure to tell you. Frank Graham, Senator from North Carolina, had an appointment to make to West Point and to Annapolis. Many Senators choose to use the appointments as patronage. Others open them to the competitive examinations supplied by the respective academies. They name the man with the highest grade as principal and the next two highest as alternates. That is what Sen. Graham did.

Well, what happened then?

There was one young man who was well ahead of all other West Point competitors. The third highest was this young Negro student whose picture you saw.

What about him?

He finished third and so that made him the second alternate. This caused the political advisers of Sen. Graham to go to him with advice.

What was the advice?

The advice was to name the principal and no alternates at all so as not to stir up trouble.

What did Sen. Graham do?

He said that up North Senators named Northern Negroes to West Point and he thought that a Southern Negro boy who had made the grades in the examination had as much right as those up North. He also said that he thought it would be dishonest to dodge the issue.

Did he dodge it?

No, he did not. He named the boy as second alternate.

What happened next?

Why, the principal, the boy who had the top grade took the appointment and went to West Point. The two alternates were never called.

So, the Negro boy never even got to go?

No, he never got to go.

But, will not the public resent the falsehood under the picture?

Probably not. That concludes the first lesson in successful politics. Never take a stand that may embarrass you.

FEPC Issue

When we look back at this era we will see it as one in which the FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Committee) issue was one which combined with "McCarthyism" to open a Pandora's box of ugly prejudices and evil political methods.

To a student of politics the North Carolina campaign offers a perfect illustration. Senator Graham opposed the FEPC more effectively than any other man. He created the minority opinion in the President's Commission on Civil Rights. Charles Wilson, President of General Electric; the Right Rev. Henry Knox Sherill, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States, and others who were also members, have issued statements to that effect.

But his opposition goes right on pinning it on him. Candidate Smith, in discussing it, says, "Imagine what would happen in a Protestant State such as ours" —and thereby deftly inserts the Catholic issue in his FEPC analysis. In the country other workers do even worse.

A compulsory FEPC is not possible. It worsens what it seeks to create. The sooner responsible leaders take hold of the voluntary compliance bill the better.

If McCarthyism and racism are proved political levers superior to reason, truth and education, then indeed are we fallen on evil and dangerous years.

The voting is Saturday—with the issue in doubt, but the Senator favored to lead in a four-man race. A second primary is probable.

John B. Cheetham, Doerun, Ga.
24th Infantry Regiment.
By- Ralph McGill
Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
Fri. 9-8-50
Negro-unofficially credited with killing or wounding nearly 55 communists in Korea.
See- Code 30a- Korean War (Special card)

MCGILL SEES COURT ACTION AS SOLUTION

By William Gordon

ATLANTA —(SNS)— Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, told an audience at Morris Brown College Tuesday that "we must believe in civil rights" and that above being good Southerners, "we must first be good Americans."

The occasion was the 69th annual Founder's Day celebration of Morris Brown College being held on the campus of this most highly praised institution founded by the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Mr. McGill was the principal speaker.

Editor McGill told his capacity audience, composed of students, faculty members, and of friends of the college that a most effective means for the Negro to achieve full citizenship rights is through governmental procedude. Such, he said, would come about as a result of well planned and well organized court action.

Lauds Dr. Bunche

While emphasizing his stand on civil rights, editor McGill praised Dr. Ralphe Bunche for his present stand on the question of human relations. He apologized for not being present to hear Dr. Bunche on his visit to Atlanta Sunday, at which time the director of the United Nations Trusteeship Division delivered the fifth John Hope lecture, a special feature dedicated to the life and work of the former president of Atlanta University.

While telling a brief story of his recent trip to Palestine and the Far East, editor McGill said, "we are not alone with a problem here in America." He told how deep the feeling of hate and prejudice still persist among the Jews and Arabs in the Holy Land.

He backed up this statement by saying that "prejudice is false in its premise" and that to generalize in this field is most "dangerous."

Court Disappoints

In praising the founders and present leaders of the college the editor told his audience that he was disappointed in the recent Supreme Court decision of the

Mr. McGill

Georgia county unit system.

Speaking of the methods by which the Negro is trying to achieve full citizenship, he said:

"If I were you, I would also be impatient."

Several other distinguished citizens and church leaders were among speakers during the observances during the celebration.

RALPH McGILL

Compulsion for Self-Destruction

It was the fate of the South in the dark days leading to secession, to have few politically wise men.

The fire-eaters, who were useless once secession came, and thereafter played no part save to glower and shout from the sidelines, overcame the few wise politicians the South had with their thoughtless emotional clamor.

One of the wisest was the sick, frail Georgian, Alex Stephens, who became vice-president of the Confederacy he sought to prevent. He opposed breaking up the union with all the persuasive eloquence at his command. When the tide of hysteria aroused by the election of Lincoln gave to the national states righters a club to use against those who asked for delay, many counties the South over adopted resolutions counseling against separate state action. Stephens stood before the Georgia legislature and defied the whirlwind of passion, declared the South was not blameless, and stood against disunion. Other leaders joined him.

Compulsion

The election of the convention delegates for the deliberations on secession was close. There was an aggregate vote of 50,243 for secession and 37,123 against. In voting on early resolutions the results were even closer. The final ballot was but an approximate two to one for secession . . . after all the floodgates of passion and emotions had been loosed.

Alex Stephens, wrapped in his mufflers and coats, sad of face, said gloomily he had never seen such compulsion for self-destruction.

In prophetic words he looked toward the future and painted an almost exact picture of what has happened down to this day.

1950 Preamble

I use this as a preamble to the news of 1950. In South Carolina the Dixiecrat folly is in full cry.

What they now seek is not national secession from the union, but from the Democratic party. Their words and arguments come familiarly down from the period of 1860—unchanged, illogical, false and filled with future agony for the South and the nation.

Once again the compulsion for political destruction is sowing the wind from which can be reaped only the whirlwind of regret.

Not merely is damage to the South inevitable in the Dixiecrat policy now before the people of South Carolina in their primary, but the national two-party system, on which national political security is based, is in the balance. A third party confined to the South could be at best only a blackmail group, going cynically from one promise to another.

Party Dominance

The folly of the Dixiecrat effort to break from the party and set up a splinter party of the South, is emphasized by the news from Washington regarding the chairmanships of House committees.

Rep. John Lesinski, of Michigan, chairman of the Labor committee, recently died of a heart attack.

In his place goes Graham A. Barden, of North Carolina. He moves up because of the seniority rule.

Of 18 house committees Southerners hold the chairmanships of 10, and in there Southerners are second in command in six.

The Dixiecrats, with their political reason warped by personal ambitions, frustrations and prejudices, would destroy that committee strength, and the two-party system for the sake of immediate revenge and power. They forget the presidency goes on and on.

In their folly, which would be ridiculous if it were not so destructive, they ignore the fact that we must remain within the party. They ride along federally aided highways and denounce federal aid. They speak to farmers receiving crop support prices, parity and conservation payments, and damn Washington for "interfering" in the affairs of agriculture. They seek to go to Washington as a third party, forgetting that under such a system they would lose all seniority.

Let other southern states look well at the hysterical political madness in the South Carolina primary. The Dixiecrat fate leads only to ruin.

RALPH McGILL

A Sin-Swallower Can't Do the Job

At Hot Springs, Arkansas, Southern governors, including one Republican from Maryland, met and talked politics.

There were many problems before the South which needed attention. But the governors talked mostly revolt against the National Party. When Sam Rayburn of Texas, speaker of the House, talked to them about party loyalty it was the Republican governor who walked out. A moment before he had been hugely enjoying the political talk of revolt, and had happily contributed the comment the Republicans might carry most of the South in 1952. But, when Rayburn talked of party loyalty the Governor of Maryland walked out, just as did Gromyko in the United Nations when what he heard didn't please him. The actions of both denote immaturity.

What was demonstrated at Hot Springs was that there is no Democratic party in the South—and never has been. There are, instead, state democratic parties. In years past they have, with two public exceptions and one private, presented a common front in national elections, for obvious reasons of benefit.

In 1876

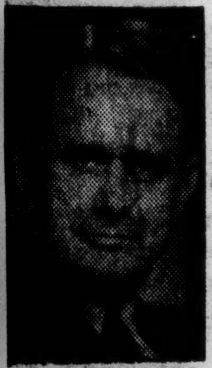
Southern Democrats privately quit their national party after the election of 1876 and made coalition with Republicans to defeat Samuel J. Tilden, the Democrat, who had been elected, but who was to have the election stolen from him. The votes of Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida were in dispute only because of corrupt control and worse measures. An election commission voted eight to seven and Hayes was declared to have the votes of those states and to be president of the United States by the margin of one electoral vote. (The affinity of Southern Democrats for a GOP coalition when there is political gain to be had is no new thing.)

In 1928 Herbert Hoover carried six Southern states because of the extreme prejudices aroused by the issues of prohibition and by the Catholic church. In 1948 four states simply made it well-nigh impossible to vote for the Democratic nominees of the national party. They did not carry the states against the party. They simply excluded the party, which would have won had the people been presented with the issue of the national nominees vs. the Republican. They were a states' wrongs party wearing the cloak of States' rights.

The revolts, which come every four years, are merely searches for a method to allow the states, especially those with one party, to find a way to hold onto all advantages, rights and privileges of being Democrats and yet to oppose the national party. That will continue until there is a two-party system.

RALPH McGILL

There Is Hope The Court Will Delay



Any student of Civil War history knows that the real tragedy of it, and the one which galls and distorts our problems of today, was that the social and moral question of slavery, pro and con, was jolted from the field of slow but sure reform into the region of personal, political and regional antagonisms.

The pulpits, the newspapers, business alliances, political self-servers, and the hot-heads, all took it over.

Those who sought a peaceful solution were drowned out by the clamor of the hot-heads. That was true North and South. In the South many of the states went reluctantly to war. The vice president of the Confederacy, Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, opposed war and argued for Union with all the skill of his logic. The hot-heads outshouted him. Robert Toombs was the more eloquent, though less logical. Yet, when the vote was taken it was surprisingly close. There were a great many persons who saw with the clarity of Stephens that the war would end in defeat and would set the South back for generations. When the vote on secession came it was remarkably close because so many had heard and accepted Stephens' arguments, which were soon to be verified by history. In Tennessee, Virginia and most of the other Southern states the same situation existed.

Could all the hot-heads have been blessed with foresight and given a view of the bloody battle-fields that lay ahead, of the agony and horror of war, they would probably have ceased their emotional outcries.

But, they won. Control slipped into inferior hands. The nation's best leaders and, of course, those of the states, had to take over once war came. Those who did most to bring it, Slidell, Yancey, Rhett, Toombs, Ruffin—had little to do with the prosecution of the war. The charming and eloquent Toombs retired as an executive to become an officer in the army.

Historians have commented on that period that it was much like that of the twenties when America's course was determined by Henry Cabot Lodge and his little group of malignant, short-sighted men who triumphed over the vision, validity and statesmanship of Woodrow Wilson.

Today

Once again the nation is being tested and once more the South, because of the failure of 1856-65, is the focal point of the testing.

And, tragically, political agitation is spilling over from its proper course. It is once again in the field of cheap melodrama and of snarling, angry, unreasoning violence and emotions.

In the field of education a number of Southern states have already seen Negro students enter universities without any trouble and, really, with little notice from fellow students. Not all like it, or approve, but it has happened without trouble.

The law has been carried out. The likelihood is that law and reason will prevail in other Southern states, despite those who are crying for violence and who look with short-sighted eyes on the problem.

That is why the thoughtful observer trusts the Supreme Court, which in the past two decades has, if one rightly reads its decisions, leaned more and more toward establishing the legal goals. Where old cultures, traditions and population concentrations, plus long established state laws sustained by former Supreme Court decisions, have joined to delay achievement of the goals, the Court has sought to allow sufficient time for the transition.

Common Schools

Therefore, there exists a very real hope, though based on no tangible evidence, that the Supreme Court will not for some time rule on the problem of segregation in the common schools.

The court properly has ruled on interstate transportation, on equal rights in education and other fields. With these there can be no real quarrel.

But, there is hope the Court will not rule on the common school segregation case. After all, there is no prestige in the common schools, as there is prestige in professional and long-established academic colleges and universities.

If the Court of final appeal does delay, as it properly may if one reads its decisions aright and interprets the court's attitude toward laws which affect social attitudes, it may be possible to prevent political agitation from spilling out of its proper course.

The present badly needs such channeling.

RALPH McGILL

500 Negro Teachers Answer

Last summer a four-page questionnaire was submitted to 1,000 teachers attending summer school at Atlanta University. These teachers represented every Southern state and were about equally divided between city and country.

The questionnaire sought to determine, objectively, the status of Negroes in the South with respect to law and security. The teachers had just arrived from their places of residence and knowledge of attitudes in their communities was, therefore, fresh and current.

It must be noted in weighing the results, now in, that teachers lead, generally, well-regulated lives. Their leadership is rarely radical, but almost always cautious and balanced by a long-view perspective.

Because these teachers are cautious and dependent on state and county boards, only 250 voluntarily returned the questionnaires. A follow-up letter, giving assurance no names would be revealed, brought in a little more than 250 additional letters. Later 30 intensive interviews were had from respondents. (The study was by Alexander F. Miller, Southern director of the Anti-Defamation League, and Dr. Mozell Hill, head of the Department of Sociology of Atlanta University.)

The findings have now been published by the Southern Regional Council, a research agency in inter-racial affairs with a splendid public record.

Results

One of the first deductions is, of course, the feeling of insecurity in the Negro teacher group. Many were fearful about answering.

The questions dealt with law enforcement, with justice in the courts, the right to vote, the Ku Klux Klan, do Negroes feel safe? and suggestions as to what can be done.

The results are of interest to the South and to the nation, seeking light on what long ago became a national problem.

Replies under "Law Enforcement" rated police standards in rural communities far below that of cities and towns, in both intelligence and methods. Fifty-four per cent rated justness of police in their communities as poor or very poor. Negroes do not yet expect to receive equal treatment in disputes involving either a minor violation or a serious offense.

On the positive side, in cities where Negro police have been appointed, 72 per cent report improvement in police standards.

Also on the plus side were replies which indicated that new, and younger white officers, are better trained and more just than the older type of officer.

Courts

Replies to court procedure indicate improvement. Only 9 per cent of the replies classified their courts as poor or very poor in so far as the expectation of justice is concerned. Approximately 30 per cent felt their courts above average, But 82 per cent believed that no matter what the evidence, if the issue were between a white and colored person, justice would be unequal.

Under "voting" the returns present "a remarkably favorable picture," in the language of the researchers. Seventy-seven per cent were registered voters, with those in rural communities providing the smallest percentage, 63 per cent.

Twenty-eight per cent reported intimidations and pressures against voting. Eighty per cent reported registrars friendly or neutral; 13 per cent found them hostile.

Surprisingly few obstacles are being placed in the way of registration.

The most important finding, and a natural one, is that there is a direct correlation between Negroes voting and improved treatment by police and courts.

As for the KKK, the findings were not new. In many towns law officers and judges reportedly are members and are reluctant to interfere. While aware and afraid of violence, there is no fear of the KKK itself.

Chief recommendations were for more Negro police in Negro communities; efforts for more equal court procedures; public opinion and laws against remnants of Klan bodies, down to municipal levels.

And, what every community needs, a thorough community analysis of the problem.

Only by intelligent working knowledge of what the problem is, and by coming to grips with it honestly, can we move forward.

The south-wide survey is not bright as to result, but does indicate surprising progress over surveys made as late as 10 years ago—especially in voting.

RALPH McGILL

James F. Byrnes Informs the KKK

South Carolina's James Francis Byrnes, governor elect, did a simple, decent, but necessary thing last week.

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He said that while there were not many members in the Klans, persons outside the South and those in foreign countries didn't understand that fact. Therefore, it is necessary for the people in any state to put down this stupid organization because of the very real harm it does the country. (The Klan is officially listed as subversive, or harmful, to the United States as are the Communists.)

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Constitution

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The questions dealt with law enforcement, with justice in the courts, the right to vote, the Ku Klux Klan, do Negroes feel safe? and suggestions as to what can be done.

The results are of interest to the South and to the nation, seeking light on what long ago became a national problem.

Replies under "Law Enforcement" rated police standards in rural communities far below that of cities and towns, in both intelligence and methods. Fifty-four per cent rated justness of police in their communities as poor or very poor. Negroes do not yet expect to receive equal treatment in disputes involving either a minor violation or a serious offense.

On the positive side, in cities where Negro police have been appointed, 72 per cent report improvement in police standards.

Also on the plus side were replies which indicated that new, and younger white officers, are better trained and more just than the older type of officer.

Courts

Replies to court procedure indicate improvement. Only 9 per cent of the replies classified their courts as poor or very poor in so far as the expectation of justice is concerned. Approximately 30 per cent felt their courts above average. But 82 per cent believed that no matter what the evidence, if the issue were between a white and colored person, justice would be unequal.

Under "voting" the returns present "a remarkably favorable picture," in the language of the researchers. Seventy-seven per cent were registered voters, with those in rural communities providing the smallest percentage, 63 per cent.

Twenty-eight per cent reported intimidations and pressures against voting. Eighty per cent reported registrars friendly or neutral; 13 per cent found them hostile.

Surprisingly few obstacles are being placed in the way of registration.

The most important finding, and a natural one, is that there is a direct correlation between Negroes voting and improved treatment by police and courts.

As for the KKK, the findings were not new. In many towns law officers and judges reportedly are members and are reluctant to interfere. While aware and afraid of violence, there is no fear of the KKK itself.

Chief recommendations were for more Negro police in Negro communities; efforts for more equal court procedures; public opinion and laws against remnants of Klan bodies, down to municipal levels.

And, what every community needs, a thorough community analysis of the problem.

Only by intelligent working knowledge of what the problem is, and by coming to grips with it honestly, can we move forward.

The south-wide survey is not bright as to result, but does indicate surprising progress over surveys made as late as 10 years ago—especially in voting.

RALPH McGILL

The Yellow Rats of Unadilla

Easter was a beautiful day.

It was beautiful, too, in Unadilla, Ga., but there was an ugly shadow on the town.

It is a good town with fine people. It has fine homes and churches. It has a real man, too, in the Rev. M. W. Flanders of the Methodist Church.

In time Unadilla will translate those good homes, good people and churches into the power to say to the cowardly, evil-minded, wicked jerks of whom the town now is afraid, that the town no longer is afraid of them. But now they seem to need some help.

I pick this story from the Associated Press. The Camp Creek Baptist congregation of Negro Christians had set Easter Sunday as the day to honor their pastor, Rev. George Taylor, who is 87 years old and who has preached more than 50 years. He has taught them through the years that Christ's will is their law and that it will prevail against evil. The church is a small one a few miles out from Unadilla.

Constitution

Threats Two white ministers had agreed to attend. But, there began to be calls. According to the story, the Rev. M. W. Flanders, of the Methodist Church, was threatened indirectly. The congregation was threatened and sent word to the white ministers that they had called off their Easter services because they didn't have the programs printed in time.

But, the Rev. Flanders (all honor to his name) got in his car and went anyhow. There he learned the truth. The real reason was summed up in three words:

"We is afraid."

That was Unadilla, Ga., on Easter, 1950.

A few yellow rats had cast their shadow over that of the cross and its meaning.

Atlanta, Ga.

We can forget all the pretty hats—the fine sermons, the eloquent testimony to the meaning of the cross and the empty tomb—until we somehow mobilize the strength of Christianity so that any person who wishes to worship Christ is not afraid of the Ku Klux Klan or anything like it.

When Christians are afraid to be Christians—especially on Easter Day—then the cross and the empty tomb have lost meaning.

Second Time It was only a few months ago that these same evil ghouls in Unadilla burned a cross in front of the home of a man who had spent his life among them, doing good and working in every community enterprise because a neurotic, war-orphaned boy from a DP camp had spread lies in resentment against being kept in to study when he wanted to go out and play, and because of a refusal to be given bikes and all the things some other boys had.

There again we saw the curious paralysis of fear. The town didn't like it. But the town was afraid of the unknown.

It doesn't matter if some of the law enforcement people are lined up with these rats. They are not many They are willing to strike only in the dark. If the town will face them down they will run.

That cowardly act was on Aug. 9.

It went unopposed save for a courageous newspaper woman in the town.

KKK Now, the rat-souled gang has set itself up as more powerful than the meaning of Christ.

The Klan is anti-Christian, and always has been, despite its cynical and depraved use of the cross—which it burns. A burning cross is a destroyed cross. Men who set it in flames violate every Christian concept. The Klan is un-American and always has been despite its use of the flag and its hypocritical protests of un-Americanism.

It is not powerful in Georgia or the South.

It is powerful only in small towns and communities where law enforcement isn't willing to kick it in the teeth and where the people are uselessly afraid of a few small-souled, evil wretches.

I would like to see the Baptist churches of the State arrange a real celebration at the Camp Creek church. The rats might even burn it down. We should then build them a better one.

But, it seems to me that Christianity in Georgia can't allow this affront to stand. I think we should have a great Christian rally at the Camp Creek church and that every public official from the Governor on down join in making it a success.

Are the yellow rats of Unadilla more powerful than the cross? Aren't we at last tired of this scum, small in number, disgracing the whole State?

RALPH McGILL

The Clean Wind From Alabama

There is blowing out of Alabama one of the strongest, cleanest and most refreshing winds of political integrity that has come out of the fetid political swamps of the cotton and wiregrass South in our generation.

Constitution

United States Senators Lister Hill and John Sparkman have come home from Washington and, with magnificent candor and courage, are staking their political futures on the truth—namely, that the Dixiecrat movement has nothing to do with States' rights, but is instead a brazen attempt to hold onto the State machinery and use it in a blackmail job with like Republican elements which may be willing to join such an unholy alliance. (It is worth noting that GOP leader Harold Stassen spoke out in Birmingham recently and said that neither he nor any Republican of vision would touch the Dixiecrats. Not even with the traditional 10-foot pole.)

Seizure There occurred in Alabama in 1948 one of the most totalitarian assaults on the American system of voting we have seen in our entire political history. In the Summer of that year the Dixiecrats captured the State party machinery.

When the voters of the sovereign State of Alabama went to the polls that November, they found a fantastic and incredible situation. They could not in any manner vote for the Democratic Party nominees. There were no electors for Truman or Barkley on the ticket. A Democrat, if he voted at all, had to vote for men pledged against the national nominees. The Democratic voters could approve Thurmond and Wright—or nobody.

The result was that about two-thirds of the voters of Alabama chose not to vote at all. A third of those casting ballots meekly or enthusiastically, according to their natures, accepted that corrupted and high-handed state of affairs and voted for the Dixiecrat slate. Two-thirds accepted disfranchisement rather than dictation.

In 1950 This year a desperate, no-quarter struggle is on. There are those who profess to hear in it the death rattle of the Democratic Party. But, according to those whose hearts leap up when leadership is there to follow, the State of Alabama will rescue itself from the bondage of hypocrisy and political blackmail.

Lister Hill and John Sparkman have help. The shrill yapping of the feist-publicists who are in the hip pocket of the Big Mules running the Dixiecrat Party, are as shrill and meanly vicious as ever. But Alabama has learned who presses the button to start the yapping. Time was when these same voices lauded Hill and Sparkman as statesmen and hailed them as Alabama's pride, meriting indorsement by all. Now that they dare to challenge corruption and the machinations of political extortionists, they are under attack.

But those on the scene are saying that Lincoln's adage about the inability of tricksters to fool all the people all the time will be at work in this primary. Political observers believe the Democrats, led by the two Senators, will win a majority of the seats in the State committee. It is this committee which two years ago cynically restricted the people of the State to the arrogant will of the Dixiecrats.

Meaning It is a struggle to the finish. If the Dixiecrats win it will inspire every Ku Klux Klavern in the South. It will bring about a great conspiratorial effort to set up a coalition with like elements in the Republican Party to turn the country over to reaction and ruin. The committee would, without doubt, throw out Hill and Sparkman and refuse to allow them to run as Democrats.

Money is said to be pouring out like water from the Dixiecrat offices, which have money to burn, reportedly supplied by every reactionary pocket and organization of hate and fear in America. "We don't know where it is coming from," said Birmingham newsmen, "but it is here and it keeps coming."

Birmingham, and Jefferson County, which are the spiritual and ancestral home of the Dixiecrats, will be one of the chief battlegrounds.

Governor To the credit of other Alabama political leaders, it must be said that of the three men ranked strongest in the race for the gubernatorial nomination, all are refusing to go along with the Dixiecrats. Chauncey Sparks, former Governor; Gordon Persons, young man with a great following, and Philip Hamm, supported by incumbent Governor Jim Folsom, all are running as regular Democrats.

Against them is a coalition which, when taken apart, is found to contain every dangerous and harmful element present in the Southern problem. In it, too, is discovered those influences which would turn back the clock, which would stop the coming of industry to the South; which would deny that this is the twentieth century; that great forces are loose in the world which cannot be met and defeated with injustice and States' wrongs.

That there are many fine, sincere persons who have been deceived by the States' rights slogan is, of course, true. There is much to say for true States' rights. But, let them look well at Alabama where Lister Hill and John Sparkman, and most of those running for Governor, are staking their political fortunes in this fight merely because they know the Dixiecrat front to be dangerous and harmful to Alabama, the South and the nation—and dangerous most of all to true States' rights.

The voting is May 2.

RALPH McGILL

The Text Is From Gen. Lee

It was a school assembly room. It smelled of chalk dust and floor oil in which, as the evening audience arrived, were mingled the more paternal and maternal aromas of cigars, cigarettes, perfume and lotions.

There was a good deal of cheery greetings and waving, but at last the gracious lady presiding rapped for order and the noise died out with a few last sibilant whispers. The minutes were read and approved. There were announcements by heads of committees. There was a surplus of $243.84 in the treasury, an announcement which drew pleased smiles, and a light shower of applause.

Time And then, it appeared, it was time for the speaker of the evening. A charming, nice lady made a generous introduction of the speaker. ("The speaker is going to speak to us on the meaning of Confederate Memorial Day.") The speaker, who had known the subject for days, had been mulling over it. What did audiences want to hear on Confederate Memorial Days? It would be easy to speak of ancient glories; to describe Pickett's men waiting for the long advance through the wheat on the slopes of Seminary Ridge, before the guns began to find them; to speak of the plodding, reduced armies for whom every muddy and dusty road led to Appomattox after Gettysburg was done, and the battered forces had retreated back across the swollen, muddy Potomac. Then, with a quick tribute to America and the union it would be finished, pleasantly and with even a touch of the old-time oratory. Sated with familiar emotions the audience would go home to its firesides and speak well of it for days . . . "such a fine tribute the other evening. Our speaker talked on the Confederacy." That would be simple and easy enough.

General Lee The speaker began safely enough. He began with Gen. Robert E. Lee. But he did not begin with the wartime General. He began with the patient man in the old suit who was President of a small, almost-bankrupt school named for Gen. George Washington, and, years later, to be called Washington and Lee. The speaker began with the story of the lady who came to Gen. Lee one day and said, "General, I am teaching my sons to become good Virginians."

"Teach them to be good Americans, Madam," said the tired, patient man, "not Virginians, but Americans."

Teachers The speaker said he thought it was a good idea to begin with the war's end, not with its years of courageous, dying struggle. He said it seemed best to begin with the time when the reconstruction was uprooted with the help of Northern industry which saw that it was corrupt and interfering with the expansion of trade and business into the but-lately-conquered region. This was not, to be sure, a period of martial glory. But it was a very important one, in which the South was saved for the Union.

In that time there were many magnificent men and women whose names shine forth from no pages of history; whose lives are unhonored and unsung save in small family groups or in old letters and diaries.

They were the ones who, like Gen. Lee, set to work to teach that we must be first of all true Americans; that we must teach Americanism first of all.

Success Their glory is as great, in a very real degree, as that of the brave men who fought and died for the Confederacy. They saved us from remaining a true colonial colony. They prevented us from becoming a region of hostile, nonco-operating people—a sort of Alsace-Lorraine. It was not easy. It was never easy. But they did it. And today, while there is a lot of noise from those who exploit the old wrongs and injustices, the South is, because of them, truly American at its heart.

Is The speaker went on to talk of the old Ku Klux Klan, which was disbanded for all time by its founders because they found that rascals, ignorance, and men with vicious, designing minds used its robes and masks. It was revived as a scheme to make money and seek political power. The speaker pointed out that today in rural towns and counties the law often is ignored and flouted by the modern Ku Klux Klan which the Government has designated as a subversive organization and that every time it flouts the law Communism and other enemies of America are assisted and encouraged and fear lies in men's hearts. Fear is not an American quality. We must live by law.

Leadership The speaker talked of the Dixiecrat leadership, which represents merely a struggle for control of State party machinery. It seeks to unify the South on a wrong principle and if ever it succeeds then indeed will the nation be divided and Gen. Lee's ideals defeated.

It was almost time to close, and the speaker hurried on to say that the war left the nation the race problem, and that while it is more apparent in the South, it is, and long has been, a national problem. The speaker said that Confederate Memorial Day was a good one on which to ask the honest question if giving to the Negro citizen equality in justice, education, the opportunity to work and rear his family in peace, and the full right to the ballot if qualified, was an improper concept for a Southerner to have? Could any honest person say it meant mixing the races or imposing one on the other? Was it not the only American procedure?

The speaker went back, in concluding, to the story of Gen. Lee—a good man with whom to live every day, and a comforting man with whom to begin and close a Confederate Memorial Day talk.

"Bring them up to be good Americans. Madam—good Americans."

RALPH McGILL

The KKK Has a Bust

Summer's catch.

It was humid and stuffy there near the slopes of Stone Mountain where, according to the wistful wizard, the faithful of the Klans were gathered from "all the states" to initiate the

The usual assemblage of fusty, dusty, rusty characters was there—the faithful—but few others were. It was, in truth, a bust, the smallest klan turnout ever to gather near the slopes of the dome-shaped hill of granite where years ago clove-chewing, William Joseph Simmons, dragged himself, heavy-laden though he was with many lodge charms and emblems, to form what he expected to be a fraternal insurance-selling, lodge from which he would get a better cut than was his on a mere commission business from the already established "orders." He never knew what he had and the smart ruthless ones took it from him and made millions, spreading violence, rape and murder over the country.

This most recent meeting was the most frustrated of them all. It was well advertised. The press had been kind. Elaborate plans had been made. But, it was a bust. They came out for Franco and against him. They endorsed Winston Churchill, who, if he hears about it at all, will get a chuckle from it.

The lights went out because of an overloaded fuse box. There was no sabotage unless, as reporters believe, the boys themselves, seeing what a bust they had on their hands, pulled the fuse to get a story.

As it was, the overloaded fuse box saved the faithful from hearing the wistful wizard's speech and remarks by the reluctant dragon. And that, certainly, was a boon on a basis of advance copies of the same. It was a warm night, and not one for giving ear to laboring, wistful wizards not sure of what they had in mind.

There was just no escaping it—it was a bust.

Financially, Too

Not only was the crowd the smallest in history, but the take was poor. There were 39 initiated. And, unless inflation has slipped by the Nighthawk, all the way to the Kludd, the charge still is $10 per head, which the boys split up. At that, with a mere 39 being given the secrets, which may be purchased at several publishing houses for as little as 50 cents, the total take was a mere $390. With the dollar being what it is, this was hardly worth going to all the trouble driving out to the granite hill. By the time the boys cut that up, after taking care of expenses, it will hardly pay them for the planning.

It will buy very few steaks, and pay mighty little hotel rent. It is probable, too, that at least some of the initiates by now are realizing that they bought a pig in a poke. They will yet have to depend on the law and the government of their country to protect them. They could have given the money to a hospital for crippled children, to the care of the sick, to their own churches—if any—instead of to the sleek, well-fed boys who got it. And, most disillusioning of all, they saw the faces of their masters. There was no "mystery."

Needs

It is quite likely their kids need shoes for school this fall, or new dresses or jeans. There are a lot of uses to which $10 can be put which make more sense than kneeling down on a hill slope to be given a lot of claptrap about wizards, kligraps, dragons and such. They swore to defend white supremacy, which is fine if they feel so worried about their own inability to prove it to themselves any other way. But the proof of what a man is lies in his own deeds and his own life of service to his family and community. He can't bring it off by gathering with others who apparently are a "leetle" mite worried about whether they really are superior persons or not. And that is easy to understand. It's what a man is that counts—and what is in the big judgment-day book.

The KKK business is pretty bad all over, as they say. A couple of weeks ago one of the Florida groups tried to sell out to Georgia for $40,000 and all they got was a laugh. In the first place, there wasn't nearly $40,000 in the kitty, and in the second place, the Florida KKK business is a bust, too. It is a business begun in the dark, dedicated to darkness, of mind and word. Its deeds have been dark. It prostitutes the cross of Christ and the spirit of America. It is out of date and fashion.

The suckers are becoming more difficult to find.

RALPH McGILL

The Best Confederate History

E. Merton Coulter is a modest and painfully shy teacher of history at the University of Georgia, where he has led a fine career. He has given us the only modern and worth-reading history of Georgia we possess. He has produced other splendid books and articles.

Now, with his latest book, he assumes his proper place—full rank with the best and the most scholarly of the nation's historians. This volume is "The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865." On reading it one is struck immediately by the fact it is the first real history of the Confederacy which we have. Here for the very first time is told the whole story—in the scales of balance. Almost all our other histories have been accounts of armies and of battles on which great decisions turned. Some of these are magnificent. But they are not histories of the Confederacy. Prof. Coulter's book is now receiving national acclaim by the most solid reviewers.

Constitution

History To put down the history of a nation or a confederacy, one must tell how it came into being, what the forces were that directed it; how it operated, and if it went to war, how it managed the great domestic background of battle and of armies on the march.

Sat. 5-13-50

All this has been done by Prof. Coulter. In this really masterful volume, the battles take their proper place and perspective. They were glorious, or they were not. They were victories or defeats. Men died in them. They consumed supplies or died because they did not have supplies. But, in essence, battles were the factors which affected the morale and the labors of the government of the Confederacy seeking to put their machinery to functioning with effectiveness. As we should have learned in World War II, the management of supply, of production and of morale make up the gigantic task of government. Upon that task the lights and shadows of battle, defeat and victory, play with great effect.

Atlanta

Failure The attempt to establish a new nation in 1861-1865 failed and it failed hopelessly. Prof. Coulter tells why. He writes with skill and, when the need arises, with humor. And he writes with great integrity. Look not in his pages for any great space given moonlight and roses and the romanticists. Here is the real story of the Confederacy—not of its armies—but of the whole Confederacy.

The South seceded. (He believes, not at all because of slavery, but in order to maintain its conservative ways against the "progressive modernism" of the North. The Dixiecrat mentality seeks that in 1950.) The South wanted no increase of democracy in the territories and it did not wish to be left as merely a colonial region. This paradox drove it to secession. Yet, the movement of secession was in no sense a revolution. Its leaders took the old constitution and changed it only to read as they believed it was meant to read. It was inevitable, in this movement, that they later should proclaim, in justification, the superiority of their aristocratic civilization and to defend slavery as a Christian system upon which the civilization was built. They still celebrated July 4 and they venerated Washington. It is worth noting, too, the men who really supplied the emotional floggings which drove the States out of the Union, had no part in this new confederacy. The Rhetts, the Yanceys and other firebrands were never of any use. They flicker out into futility and death.

War Those who took over did not believe war was inevitable. It is the custom of the dogmatic ones today to say the war was one which had to be fought. That is not true and never was true. It could have been avoided even after Lincoln's election. But there was no will to find a way out. The fault was on both sides.

The war that came was not greatly different from other wars. It was cruel. There was hunger and disease, suffering, pathos and death. As there had been no unanimous will to secede, so there was no unanimous agreement on conduct of the war. In East Tennessee, North Alabama and Georgia there were men who still loved the union, and would not fight for slavery or the "pure civilization." Morale early began to disintegrate. The Congress and many of the people opposed President Jefferson Davis. He was stronger and more worthy than many of his rivals, but he had no real feeling for administration and did not know how to handle politics.

Morale Morale soon came to depend on victory in battle. The Confederate currency was not sound. There was a terrific inflation. Prices went spiraling high. Speculation and profiteering were rife. Withholding cotton and failure to win battles lost England's recognition. The rail lines were never well handled. The farmers produced food. There were really good jobs done in producing military supplies and establishing manufacturings. Yet because of the lack of railroads and poor use of the ones in existence, the armies were never well fed, clothed or supplied. Battle failure weakened the will to go on. Enlistments decreased, bonuses had to be offered and conscription followed. Desertion was common. Governors of the States withheld soldiers and supplies. Georgia's Vice President, Alex Stephens, gave some lip service to President Davis but he never liked him and quietly threw his influence against him. He remained away from Richmond most of the time. Against the slow decay of morale came the ever-mounting pressure of the growing Federal armies, well fed and magnificently, for the time, equipped.

We see in this book, with fearful clarity, how much damage uncontrolled local freedom or States' rights can do a federal cause in times of stress. It could be said that it was the exaggerated idea of States' rights which contributed as much as any one factor to the defeat of the Confederacy. At any rate it is a valuable book. It tells much we have never known before. It explains a great many of the old puzzles and mysteries. It costs $7, but I trust every school of college grade, North and South, will make it a must for history classes, and that as many individuals as can will purchase it.

RALPH McGILL

We Must First Be Americans!

No more heartening thing has happened anywhere in American politics than the defeat of the Dixiecrats in Alabama. True, the margin was not great, but it was definite and it may be increased in the State committee elections at the end of the month.

Now the smoke of battle and the garbage of Dixiecrat distortion has been cleared from the air, the figures of United States Senators Lister Hill and John Sparkman stand revealed in really distinguished stature. They dared much in the name of honesty and political integrity.

Constitution

The wonder is they were able to score a victory by any margin. The cynical forces which two years ago refused to allow the people of Alabama any choice of their own at the polling places, waged a typical Dixiecrat fight against Sens. Hill and Sparkman. They said, with complete untruth and hypocrisy, the issue was one of the "Trumanites vs. the Southern traditions." They beclouded the issue with typical demagogic falsehoods. They were in power and they threw all their weight in the fight—and lost.

Thurs. 5-11-50

Negative True, the victory was in a sense a negative one from the standpoint of the national party platform. Yet it was a party victory, as it most assuredly was not a Truman victory. It was never so pitched by the two Senators who led the fight. They at least did not stoop to vicious slanders, calumny and falsehood.

Atlanta Ga.

They argued the issue of civil rights could best be fought out within the party. (The Florida primary proved this in clear, dramatic fashion.) They let all know they opposed that part of the party platform. They made it crystal clear they differed with the President. They were in no sense Trumanites, as the forces of political disaster were shouting in print and on the air.

They were Americans, standing for the two-party system upon which this country must stand if it is to endure as a nation of freedom through representative government. The more one considers the fact that Alabama's two Senators were willing to risk their political futures in the fight, the more one must admire them and their decisions as perhaps the finest and most statesmanlike act Southern politics has seen in a generation. Happily, their action may be judged side by side with the unbelievably selfish, nationally dangerous, and narrow viewpoint of the Dixiecrats and is thereby emphasized as the clearest, most honest and patriotic act of our regional politics.

Splinters It is not a thoughtful American who would seek to set up a splinter party such as the Dixiecrats. One can conceive an enemy of the American system so doing, but the lesson of France, of Italy and of other nations, where representative government was done to death by the many splinter parties breaking down the possibility of stability, should cause the thinking citizen to draw sharply back from a splinter party or anything which remotely resembles a threat to the two-party rock on which we are fixed.

This is especially true of splinter parties such as the Dixiecrats, which are founded on regional interests alone. Imagine what sort of a Congress or government we would have if all the regions, New England, the West, the Midwest, the southern and northern divisions of the Pacific Coast all had regional parties doggedly insisting on having their way or destroying all else. That is exactly what the Dixiecrats have done. They have sought to say that if they cannot impose their interpretation of what is right and proper on the party they will seek to destroy it.

Method For the two-party system to work each party must be resilient enough to include and hold many varying opinions. It is because of such a system that we have had compromise which prevents extremism. It is because of such a system we will have compromise in the FEPC measure now before the Congress. Compromise is the agent which prevents hardening of the arteries of popular government.

When there is not a two-party system but many splinter parties defending narrow sectional interests, we do not have compromises. We have instead coalitions, and always uneasy coalitions. They have no stability. The more self-seeking of the parties carry out a sort of blackmail, threatening to desert and leave the party with the most members of the government—but without a majority—in the lurch. That is what brought France to near impotency before World War II began. It is a condition which plagued many nations. Therefore we must always consider first our country—before State or region.

The Dixiecrats included many sincere persons. But when history writes the inside and largely hidden story of its sinister attempt to break down the two-party system, the pages of its recording will be dark and shameful indeed.

RALPH

McGILL

There'll Be Mules in Zoos

"One of the strangest sights in the Mississippi Delta," he said, "are the herds of cattle and sheep on rich pastures where nothing but cotton has been planted since the first farmers came to that fabulous creation of the great river, rich with deposits from the best soils of a dozen States.

"They are so new a sight I always am startled when I see them and know they are here to stay—and increase. I know one cotton planter who has more than 20,000 head of cattle and others who are planning vast numbers of sheep. Going along with this is a rapid increase in dairying.

"Perhaps the saddest sight on the Delta is the mules. They are being sold to the grease plants by the pound. There are two of these in the Delta and they are paying $1 to $1.50 per pound for plow mules. Their lots are filled with them awaiting slaughter as sadly and as patiently as they accepted toil and harness. They are the older ones, of course, but most of them have a lot of crops left in them. The tractor has replaced them. There will be mules in zoos within 20 years or less and nostalgic parents will be taking their children out to see them and boring them with stories of how they used to plow cotton with one of those curious animals."

Stanard Equen, from his large and famous Moundland Plantation near Greenwood, was talking about the exciting revolution that is going on in the South's economy.

Cotton Trouble

"The Delta will always grow cotton," he said. "Even as I make that statement I know I should revise it. I think the Delta always will grow cotton. If ever the Lord made land just for cotton it is Delta land. All the States of the Mississippi Valley have sent us their best top soil through the by-gone centuries to build that Delta. But when I see increasing pastures and find myself growing interested in cattle, I don't like to predict. Time was when Delta planters got together we talked weather, weevil, hoppers and prices. Now, you hear about as much talk on what the Chicago market is on beef and lamb. Most of this is a development of the last five years. It's fantastic.

"Cotton is a lot of trouble. It frets you all the time. It's a gamble every year. The weather can ruin you or the pests can clean you out. It's feast or famine. The cattle business has its problems. But, they are not like cotton.

"You know what," he said, "if I were a fellow in the Mid-West where they have to stall-feed six months a year, I'd be thinking about the South and the grass. I didn't have to give my cattle a fork full of hay last Winter."

Fire Dragons

I asked about the progress of mechanization. I have been to the Delta and seen the muleless plantations. I have watched the flame weeders move through the vast fields like so many wierd dragons snorting fire along the rows. By the next morning the weeds are brown and dying. Later, mechanical pickers, like huge, black beasts out of the mists of a young earth, go growling down the rows devouring the cotton.

I wanted to know how much of the Negro labor had moved away.

"It is a curious thing," said Equen, "but the Delta is holding its labor. The population is shifting in other regions, but the Delta, where almost everyone said the greatest population shift would occur, still needs labor. The flame weeders are not quite efficient enough entirely to eliminate the hoe. It is odd the mule should go before the hoe. But, there is yet enough hoeing to do to hold labor. Some of it has gone, of course, but now I am hopeful we will have no sudden dislocation and that the transition may be worked out with less trouble and harm than we once believed. Perhaps by the time improved flame weeders drive the hoe from the cotton fields the livestock program will be large enough to prevent any damaging migration. We hope so. Anyhow, it is a new Delta, with sheep, cattle, pigs and a grain elevator on the horizon and another one soon to come."

They are thinking in the Mid-West. I have just been there and I know. The South, alone of all the regions, has the water and the climate. Our future economy is sure to be like that of the Mid-West, but on a surer and sounder, better balanced basis. Old Man River keeps rolling along. But now he is beginning to have something to say.

RALPH

McGILL

A Recipe for Eating Crow

There are many recipes for crow, but if one has to eat it I know, out of bygone experience, it is best to have done with it quickly. Simply broil it, pour on Worcester sauce generously, and eat fast.

I say this to all those through whom there went an anticipatory shudder as that veteran drummer from Kansas City happily took his sample cases back home from his Western trip, an order book full in his pocket. There may again be crow on many menus this Fall and it is well enough to have instructions handy.

It is not possible to obtain the story of Harry S. Truman's journey from the news agency reports which factually named the whistle stop, the crowd, the notables present, and reported briefly the President's remarks.

Now there are available, from the New York Times, the Washington Post and from other newspapers, Republican and Democratic, the analyses of the Truman sales trip by experienced political observers.

They Like Him

There was not a boo or an unfriendly wisecrack on the whole journey.

Closest thing to a critical retort came at Umatilla, Ore. The head of the real estate lobby in Washington, who is on record as saying "I spit on democracy, this is a republic," might well note it.

At Umatilla, Ore., the President told the largely Republican crowd, "We are going to try and get some more low-rent housing."

"We hope!" came back a doubting, sardonic, retort from the crowd.

"Yes, we hope," came back Truman, "and if you work hard enough, you can help me get it." None of the glib, radio ad-libbers have done better than that.

Whistle Stop

The truth is, of course, high prices of materials and labor do not offer a wide margin of profit in building low-rental housing. Consequently, not much has been built. There is a sound argument here. But it is a witless person who does not see that if there is agitation about lack of low-rent houses and apartments in Umatilla, Ore., that pressure will be reflected in Congress and we will have it unless private enterprise will take a small profit over a long period.

Sharper

This time the President did not say, "Meet the Boss," in introducing his wife as he did in 1948. He said simply, "Mrs. Truman," and then would add, "And here's Margaret." As in 1948 the crowds demanded them.

There was a unanimous agreement, by all political reporters on the journey—the crowds liked the Trumans.

His prepared speeches were delivered in an improved form, but always it was his ad-libbing which "got" the crowd.

Communism

The President hit out hard against Communism and reactionaries "who don't want to change anything."

But, in going over the reports from reporters who made the journey, one discovers one of the features which startled them most was that in all the questions asked by the crowds, not one mentioned "Jumping Joe" McCarthy, the Republican who has wildly smeared so many State Department persons with charges of Communism — and proved not one—of his accusations, however small. The President noted that. It may lead to Republicans falling away from the seemingly irresponsible McCarthy. They have been using him, without indorsing him.

There was a certain "we'll all eat pie in the sky" touch to some of the President's speeches. But the crowds were enthusiastic.

House Gains

The South will do well to note that substantial congressional gains in the Western and Northwestern regions would make the President even less dependent on Southern Democrats.

He cannot pass the more controversial of his measures without such gains. What will happen none knows. Population shifts, as revealed by the about-completed census, provide a political mystery. The cities of the West have gained large numbers of persons who have gone to them seeking work. Such persons usually are Democrats or are persons to whom the more extreme promises of the Fair Deal seem good. Oregon, for example, has more Democrats registered than Republicans—the first time that has ever happened in the Beaver State.

It was because of this population shift the veteran drummer took his samples West . . . his lodge pins gleaming, his smile and manner cordial—order book in hand.

No one knows. But, it is just as well to be prepared with a recipe for crow. This is 1950 and 1952 rolled into one.

RALPH McGILL

In the Brass Rail Cafe

COLUMBIA, S. C.—It was late afternoon. The newsboys cried out that the draft had been ordered. Serious - faced men and women bought the papers and stopped on the sidewalks to read.

At about 5:30 on Main Street in the Brass Rail Cafe (beer, sandwiches, soft drinks), two men in mud-stained khaki work pants and faded blue shirts were in a line of men having beer, coffee and sandwiches.

The shorter one looked up at a framed, colored lithograph of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt on the wall back of the bar.

"There was a great man," he said, raising his glass of beer and drinking to the picture.

"You doggone right," said his friend. "We had him now we'd have peace."

Their words caught the attention of all those at the bar and they all gazed reflectively up at the smiling face of the former President, in its frame, dingy and soiled from the soot and burners where the food was cooked.

Blue Mood

At about 7 o'clock in the restaurant Ship Ahoy, Columbia, the dining room was crowded with soldiers from nearby Fort Jackson and civilians. The room smelled warmly of broiled steaks and fish. A radio program of music ended and a political candidate began a sonorous introduction.

"Turn off that jerk," called a soldier from a table about midway back.

The man at the cashier's desk did not change an expression, but turned the knob. A pianist came on the air playing Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue."

Talk around the table was of draft news. At one table a tall, handsome blonde girl, one of a group of six having steaks, giggled and said to one of the young men across from her: "You going to propose to me now, George? They'll get you if you don't."

Wind-Up

Shortly after 7 o'clock at the Columbia Township Auditorium, some 24 State candidates began what turned out to be four and a half solid hours of political oratory, well seasoned with mud, bombast, but greatly lacking the salt of facts. It was the final act in the long Carolina political primary show in which all State candidates must speak from the same platform in each county.

There were but two spontaneous demonstrations. One was when James Francis Byrnes, former Justice of the Supreme Court, former Senator, former Secretary of State, came on to speak in behalf of his candidacy for the Governorship. The second was when the crowd which had been laughing at Marcus Aurelius Stone's comedy, burst into a storm of boos when Stone began to denounce Byrnes as having been an errand boy for Stalin at Potsdam and Yalta and to name him as one who had helped create the national trends he now opposes.

Jimmy Byrnes is expected to win without a run-off in the voting Tuesday.

The two Senatorial candidates, J. Strom Thurmond, Governor and Dixiecrat leader, and Olin Johnston, incumbent, railed harshly and often childishly at one another, each seeking to prove the most dislike for Harry Truman and the Negro.

While both have opposed Harry Truman with equal vigor, Johnston did not bolt to the Dixiecrats and Thurmond is a slight favorite to win because of the recent Supreme Court decisions and the fact the President has scorned him.

With all its emphasis on, and preoccupation with the Negro, South Carolina's first Congressional district nevertheless has seen a Charleston Negro businessman appear on the platforms as a candidate for Congress, saying, in a well-thought-out, dignified speech: "I believe in State's Rights, too, but I do not believe they are greater than human rights. . . . For too long in the South politicians have played race against race . . ."

Meaning

South Carolina's politics are the South's most paradoxical and, next to Georgia's, the most complex.

This year they offer in James F. Byrnes a man of prestige, experience and position who has not revealed even to his closest friend what is in his mind. But that he has something in mind beyond the Governorship is obvious. He is sure to wield not merely a Southern influence, but a national one by the time 1952 comes around. He will become the symbol of the anti-Truman forces in the South and nation. He is not a Dixiecrat and he has position, prestige and dignity.

Already there are those who are beginning to speculate and it is odd how the name of a college president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, inevitably creeps into the talk.

RALPH McGILL

The Tiger's Angry Ghost

I read it, shaking my head, and saying, Poor Tiger. Poor, poor Tiger."

But it did take me back.

There was the picture of the big, fine house and the headlines saying it had been raided as a lottery headquarters, and a lot of evidence as well as workers taken up in the net.

Somewhere up there in the celestial firmament there is an angry ghost. The shade of Deacon Tiger Flowers will not like that at all. No sir. Not one little bit.

I would not like to be those gambling men and women when the trial comes up, because as sure as we are all here today, and gone tomorrow, the ghost of Deacon Flowers will be aiding the prosecution. And if any of those guilty hear any strange noises around their houses at night; or see doors opening like a natural man was walking through them—well, that will be the indignant shade of Deacon Flowers come to protest the wrong done him and his house.

Tiger Flowers was a God-fearing, worshipping man and when he died he went straight to Jesus' arms. Anyone who knew The Tiger knew that. They all knew it at his funeral, too, with the big, fine casket open there and The Tiger's dark face, peaceful and still, to be seen in it, quietly awaiting the final trumpet.

There was a great crush of people and the sickly smell of many flowers and a great moaning through the church between the hymns. "No mo' Tiger! No mo'! No, mo'!"

Champion

The Tiger was a real fine man. He won the middleweight championship of the world on August 19, 1926, when he outpointed Harry Greb in 15 furious rounds in New York. He was the first Negro ever to win that title.

He had come a long way from Camilla, Georgia, had Leo Flowers. He and Walk Miller, his white manager, had made it the hard way. They were a fine pair, close friends and never a dispute. They made a good combination —"Mister Walk" and "The Tiger." The Tiger prayed before every fight and was a sincere church man, clean and honest. And Walk was all right, too, but no deacon.

Almost every Southern city and many of those in the East knew the two and liked them. The Tiger had a style of his own. It was closely akin to that of Harry Greb. The Tiger moved about very fast and his left was always busy. He could shift quickly and come in with a good, hard right. He kept the air full of fists. The two gloves were always flying and The Tiger was always shifting and moving about, so that opponents often became bewildered and compared fighting The Tiger to boxing with a fast-turning windmill.

The Tiger put his money away into property and investments, many of which were wiped out in later years. Riches did not corrupt him in any manner.

Rackets

What the late Bill McGeehan referred to as "The Manly Art of Modified Murder" was even then under the thumb of the rackets. It took Walk a long time to get his man a big-time show. When he did he had to trade and sell and cut up his deals until it was painful.

But he never agreed to any tank jobs. The Tiger was always an honest man in and out of the ring.

In December of 1926 Mickey Walker won a 10-round decision from The Tiger in Chicago. It smelled, as they say, and the crowd booed it. Walk believed gamblers fixed it.

Not much later, The Tiger had a minor ear operation and died, suddenly. Walk Miller never got over it. He went around believing that in some way gamblers had killed his boy because he couldn't be bought up. And, it could have been, and probably was, true.

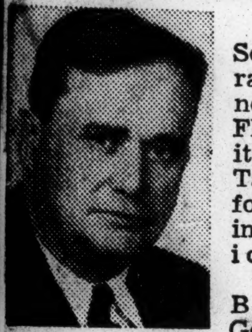
There was a great funeral in Atlanta and the sad flowers hung on the doors of the big house, so recently raided.

Walk Miller went on for a little while longer. But, it wasn't any use without The Tiger. So, one night Walk Miller took a pistol and shot himself in the head and went off to find the Deacon.

No, sir, I would not like to be the people who were carrying on the lottery in The Tiger's house. Not me. I wouldn't want the Deacon haunting me the rest of my life.

RALPH McGILL

In the Deep Rural South



Deep in Southwest rural Georgia, not far from Florida's capital city of Tallahassee, I found a meaningful American story.

It was at Bainbridge, Georgia, county seat of Decatur county, once a cotton region, now tobacco, peanuts and cattle.

Dr. Joseph H. Griffin formally opened his new hospital. It cost about $225,000 to construct and equip. He financed it all himself. There are no government funds in it. It entirely is his. Its equipment is the finest available. It is a gleaming, modern building, with 50 beds, a major surgery room, two out-patient examination rooms, emergency operating quarters, and an obstetrical delivery room. It serves people in Florida, Alabama and Georgia.

Dr. Griffin is a Negro. His parents were hard-working, uneducated tenant farmers near Lumpkin, Georgia. He was one of 17 children born to them. He literally came out of the soil of the South, fighting his way to an education by working at any odd job which came along, until he had graduated as a physician from the excellent Meharry Medical School. He began practice at Lumpkin in 1915. During the war he served in the United States Medical Corps. At war's end he opened an office in Bainbridge. He has been there ever since, save for further training in eastern medical schools. The present structure of beauty and utility replaced a small, wooden 20-bed hospital which he built years ago. By his invitation white physicians send their Negro patients to his hospital and do operations there.

At the dedication of the new structure, city and county officials joined in a large and comprehensive ceremony held on the city square. He long ago earned their full respect. His mother was there, old and proud.

Meaning

This had meaning beyond opening the doors of a new hospital. It was symbolic of much else. It was a symbol of a Negro's confidence in the South. It stood, too, for a Negro's faith the future would see a developing southern democracy.

It was that. It was something else, too.

It must be seen that the building of brick and concrete represented the Negro's hope the near future holds for him equal share in opportunities of education, the ballot, justice before the law, and a just share in whatever a community provides for health and recreation.

It was that—and more.

It was a symbol of the Negro's earnest desire to make an accepted contribution to the development of the South; his hope for maximum development in the professions and crafts.

Can any Southerner in his heart object to such hopes? They are the hopes any human being should have. They do not jar a single tradition of the South or of America. They are not radical. They merely suggest that if we call on all what is best in men and women we get more of the best. If we restrict expression of the best, we get more of the worst.

Examination

It seemed to me, standing there in the park about the courthouse square, with an August sun of the deep South hot upon the scene, that we ought to examine our thinking.

There is no reason why we should stamp a whole people with the stigma of a criminal act, as so often is done. The Dr. Griffins, the hard-working, humble men and women, such as were his parents, are the more accurate symbols of the Negro in the South and the nation. We have found no way to know them and their worth. Every community knows the economic profits of Negro trade in its stores. We have not yet realized the value of the contribution the Negro could make to other fields of accomplishment if, within the framework of our society, we would but make possible opportunity for such development and such contributions.

Here in the deep, rural South a man has come from a tenant farm to where he could build for himself and his staff a hospital worth a quarter million dollars, calling on no government aid. There are many others with contributions to make. It brings to the community great economic advantages for all the merchants and tradesman. But the symbols of it must not be lost to us here in the South. In these days of great historical development we must not fail to see and understand; we must not refuse to fulfill the promise of America and to honor all who can, and will, help further the dream.

RALPH McGILL

The Courts And Schools

James F. Byrnes, who will take office in January as Governor of South Carolina, says of the issue of educational segregation now before the courts, that it is time, "for deliberation, not denunciation; for more thinking and less talking."

Unfortunately, we will have more denunciation than deliberation. But deliberate we must.

The South must take note of the fact that in Atlanta, where perhaps the most extensive effort in any Southern city of comparable size has been and is being made to equalize the schools, Negroes nevertheless chose that city for a test of the segregation law.

That they should have done so in Atlanta, rather than in a city where the inequalities and the will to do are flagrantly flaunted, is productive of resentment, perhaps justified, but it does not remove the fact of the suit or its meaning for the South as a whole.

This is an attack on the public, or grade school level, and not on that of the college and university, wherein the Supreme Court of the United States has already ruled.

The Southerner will do well to keep in mind that in Virginia, Texas, and Oklahoma, Negroes have already been admitted to state universities in the professional schools of law. Some attended last year, without trouble or incident. Suits are pending in other Southern states and additional ones will be filed this Fall.

A Southerner, Chief Justice Fred Vinson, of Kentucky, spoke these 13 important words in rendering the court's decision that prestige and reputation of professional schools were a factor. He said:

"The 14th amendment precludes differences in treatment by the state based upon race."

History

Denunciation is noisy, but not helpful. There are now those who are saying:

"Warnings of just such developments were made by me, (or by us), 10 years and more ago."

That may be entirely true, but what we needed 10 years and more ago was not warnings, but school buildings and equipment. It means nothing that predictions were made. They were obvious. It took no prophet to see that if the law was not obeyed the courts would act.

Of course, as they say, there will be violence and bloodshed in some places if the court should rule out segregation and Negroes should attempt to enter schools. But, let us face the fact there is always tomorrow and after the bloodshed the decision and the law will remain. It is true, too, that some states may, for a while, abandon all but token appropriation for public education and let the schools drift. There will be that period. There will, of course, be an increase in church and private schools.

But all that does not solve anything in full. We are required to keep in mind that life is going on until the last trumpet sounds, and so it is as meaningless to say there will be violence as it is to say, "We told you so."

Law

The public will do well to keep its shirt on and not give way to denunciation nor ear to demagogues of either race, and both races have them.

The case is now in the conveyor belt of law and of courts.

There is good reason to believe the Supreme Court will not abolish segregation, per se, because of constitutional provisions.

There is sound legal reasoning against believing the court will rule on inequalities in the common schools, especially where an effort is being made to equalize them. There are Negro schools superior to white ones in many Southern cities. There exists the basis of a suit from white sources charging inequalities. There is no standard for common schools as in college.

Also, there is no "prestige" in the field of common schools, as there is in universities, especially in professional and graduate schools. The Supreme Court will hardly invade the field of grade and high schools without a period of warning.

What we want now is not "I told you so," or "We warned you this would happen." We want some leadership in law and in creating in the common school division a program of equalization. If we do not the Supreme Court will be forced to invade that field, as Southern failure to meet the problem forced it into the college level. There are steps to take — creation of districts reaching across county lines; consolidation of poorer counties, and school building authorities are but three.

Let's have deliberation — not denunciation.

RALPH McGILL

White
31a

Let Mississippi Show Us Up?

Maybe you saw where the State of Mississippi was preparing, with the urging of the Governor and administration leaders, an appropriation bill which will absolutely equalize school facilities in the State.

That's what should be done.

It is in marked contrast to our attitude in Georgia where we are, with great folly, "fighting" suits to equalize facilities.

I have never believed the people of the State wanted Negro children to be treated worse than others and deprived of a right to have adequate schooling. I don't like to see the flag of our country and our State flag flying over shacks you can throw a cat through.

Constitution

The trouble is the people don't know. And the further trouble is that some people and some politicians become afraid. Almost always the fear outruns reality.

Wed. 2-15-50

Wrong A check reveals that every one of the 21 suits filed in Georgia has a basis of justification. Let's look at what unreasoning stupidity and callous injustice has done.

In one county the Negro school burned down. There was about $3,000 insurance on it. Half that money was spent on the school for white children and the Negroes were told that if they collected enough rocks they could have the remaining $1,500 to start them another school.

Atlanta, Ga.

Justice? Is there a single Georgian of conscience who will approve that? Especially when our own laws, made by us, say they shall be equal.

In another county a large number of Negro children had no chairs on which to sit, let alone desks. The city government, embarrassed, appropriated money to buy chairs. At last report, the school man responsible was refusing to spend the money, saying he was going to wait until he had to do something.

There are reasons, equally indefensible, behind the other suits. Is there a single Georgian with any pride in his State who will defend such conditions? Yet, here we go, trying to say that the suits are inspired by Communists; that "outside" influences are at work; that the suits are outrageous and will be fought.

Even in Mississippi they know better than that. In Mississippi they are going to equalize every school—as their law requires—and as ours does, too.

They are not allowing a few mulletheads in local school systems to muddy the waters and bring Mississippi into Federal courts. There isn't any reason why the enormous amount of common decency in Georgia—wholly aside from any feeling about the race question—ought not to rise up and demand that we do what Mississippi is doing.

Screen One of our troubles has been that people are afraid to talk out. We sit back and let the State's name be shamed by a few irresponsible persons, and then wince and squirm and try to fix the blame elsewhere.

Nothing is going to embarrass us more than these school suits. It should be noted they have not been filed in a single county where the people have evidenced the slightest bit of good will or intent or desire to do something for the really shocking school conditions. It is not a question of the Negro. It is a question of simple justice and decency and integrity. There won't be any suits filed where the local boards make a real effort to begin—not quickly complete—some improvements.

But every Georgian ought to hope that suits will be filed in every county where there are men so narrow between the eyes they will defend situations which they themselves know to be wrong.

In Georgia there are some counties which have gone ahead and done a fine job. Spalding county, for example, is one. In DeKalb, Jim Cherry has made a fine start and has plans for the future. Fulton and Atlanta are making progress. There are others.

But there still are those where men of no vision and no comprehension of what a State's pride and reputation ought to be, wilfully maintain and meanly defend conditions which they know to be wrong.

With Mississippi moving to correct her situation on a State-wide basis, with her Governor and Legislature taking the lead, are we going to become the only State defending these injustices and inequalities in our system? We've got to answer some day. I wish we'd answer now . . . and answer on the side of Georgia's best interests—and of the South.

RALPH McGILL

White
31a

'What the Law Could Not Do'

Among a number of critical letters I have received lately from Negroes is one from a university teacher. He thinks I am too conservative, that I am not liberal enough, that I am a gradualist and a defender of segregation, and so on.

In other words, he thinks I am intellectually dishonest and intellectually venal, and I think him to be a fool of the all-or-nothing-right-now variety. I do not name him or his school, for the very good reason his school is an excellent one. It receives too little help and co-operation from the community as it is, and one reason for it is because too often fools of the sort get into print.

Constitution

He employs a familiar technique. It was employed by Lillian Smith, for example, in her review of Hodding Carter's book. She (deliberately, I assume, since there could hardly have been any misunderstanding) quoted him as saying things he emphatically did not say, distorting some of his statements.

Mon. 2-20-50

Segregation I do not suppose any honest person defends compulsory segregation as an institution. Certainly it is productive of much that is iniquitous. It is not democratic or American in principle. But a great many of us, including me, say that it cannot and should not be abolished by fiat or decree. And, furthermore, nowhere in the civil rights bill, even the omnibus bill, is it suggested the Federal Government so abolish it. A great many of us say that it would not be enforced if it were abolished. It is obvious that segregation is losing some of its edges in higher education, in travel and in the everyday business of life. So it is perfectly true that I have said, and believe, that segregation should not be abolished by Federal fiats. There will be degrees of it. There may come some such edicts in the matter of education, which will work itself out when it does come. I follow the Lincoln spirit and technique. I hope it is clear that I am against a Federal decree, and I hope it is understood none is suggested by the President.

Atlanta, Ga.

Employment We ought to have an end to discrimination in employment. Some sort of employment commission would be helpful. But I am against an FEPC with jail sentences as sanctions. I think if we ever start providing separate bureaus with enforcement police methods, we will create a police state which no one will like. I want less police methods in government, not more. I do not see why an FEPC under the Department of Labor with powers of investigation, conciliation, and so on, would not win wider acceptance than a "thou-shalt" bill. In fact, I know it would.

This is a national problem, with the emphasis on us. There still exists segregation in more schools in the North than in those that do not have it. There still are counties in northern States which do not allow Negroes to live in them or even to remain in them overnight. Segregation and discrimination exist there, too, although, of course, on a generally lower level. I do not say this to accuse the North, but merely to illustrate that it is stupid and harmful to try to isolate the South as a single entity in which all evil and wrong exist. That is why there is more resistance. The Negro, having been and still being a whipping boy for Southern demagogues, ought to understand that a region reacts in the same manner as he does.

Law I would like to close with a quotation from Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, from an essay of his: "What the Law Cannot Do." It is taken from his book, "On Being Fit To Live With." It reads:

"In the eighth chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans a familiar verse begins with an arresting phrase: 'What the law could not do.' The limitations of law, the things that legal regulation cannot accomplish—that should be worth considering in a generation like ours, so tempted to trust laws and more laws, government and more government, to save the world.

"Now Paul honored law. As a Jew, the moral law laid down in Scripture had his full devotion, and as a Roman citizen he was bound to live under the most majestic structure of civil law the world had known. . . .

"In the long run, the law can get out of the people no more goodness than there is inside the people. The law is much like a pump, and the water it pumps is the intellectual, moral and spiritual life of the people—no better, no worse.

"Once in this country we had a prohibitory law concerning alcoholic liquors, constructed with all the precision of legality and backed by a constitutional amendment, but when it started working, what did it pump? Just what was inside the people, no more, no less. However hard we worked the pump, it drew only what was in the people. In a generation trusting government for salvation, as few generations have ever done, we had better remember that."

RALPH McGILL

Blows Away Fog Of Falsehood, Nonsense

"The world is naturally averse
To all the truth it sees or hears,
But swallows nonsense, and a lie,
With greediness and gluttony."
—SAMUEL BUTLER.

It is time we had a frank, quiet talk and rid ourselves of a miasma of untruth and arrant nonsense.

This fog of foolishness has blown up since two recent decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States. Both were on cases arising from Georgia.

One was the county unit system which disfranchises the larger counties of the State. The other was the reregistration law.

Now, let's start blowing away the fog.

Facts The court did not consider either case. The Justices did not look at the briefs . . . at least they did not give them official scrutiny. If they put eyes upon them, as I assume they did, it was privately.

What they did do was to decline to consider them on the basis that the points involved were matters for the State to determine. (The "State" is the people.)

So, let us be sure we understand, no matter how we feel about the two cases, that the court did not in any sense sustain the two actions. The Justices did not agree with them. They did not indorse them. They did not say they were right or just or proper.

There has been a lot of nonsense, by persons who know better, to the effect the Supreme Court sustained the unit system and the registration act. A number of persons have been fooled thereby.

Let the truth be understood so that we may proceed on to the next attack on the fog.

Unit System There is no honest defense for the county unit system which subjects the State, and every Governor, to the blackmail of the small, politically-held counties. The late Eugene Talmadge, as well as former Govs. E. D. Rivers and Ellis Arnall, and their campaign aides, have at various times given me estimates of corrupt counties which were for sale to the highest bidder. The total was about 60 and all were the small, two-vote counties where one vote is worth about 225 votes in a large county. The smaller they are the easier they are to "handle."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in my opinion, needs only to have this fact reach it to rule out the system. It is fantastic to say that a court which properly protects minority voting rights should not be concerned with this sort of disfranchisement. The problem is to get it before the court.

Truth Georgia is the only State that has such a unit system. Is our State government better than that of other Southern States? Not at all. It is not as good, or as successful as that of some of our neighbors.

Do we benefit because we have it and 47 other States suffer without it? Not at all!

If it is a good system others would have adopted it.

They have not.

The truth is, it is iniquitous, unfair and will remain what it is—a cancer in the breast of honest government. It will be a curse to every Governor who must stoop to deal with the corruptionists.

Keep in mind—no other State has it! Can we say we are aided by it? The answer is a firm "No."

Excuse A little while ago I said there was no honest defense of it. That is true. Even those who defend it can't find one.

They use just one, and only one, argument.

They say it prevents a big city from running the State. Their favorite argument—and the only one they can find—is the Crump machine in Tennessee.

Well, let's see. Where is the Crump machine? It is in ruins. It was defeated. It was powerful only so long as the people in the rest of the State didn't vote. It never truly controlled or ran the State. It ran it only so long as the people willed it. No city can control a State unless the people resident elsewhere will it. So, the only argument the unit system advocates have—the Crump machine—is void. The Crump machine was smashed. Is there a city in any Southern State which runs that State? The answer is "No."

Reregistration The Georgia reregistration law is not a bad one if justly administered. The intent of it was, however, to limit the voters and to give those registrars willing to be corrupt a chance to rule out Negro votes. No one denies that. So, the intent of it was not honest or right.

But, you know what all this proves?

It proves just what the Constitution of the United States and the Supreme Court has said all along—that the people are the real power. The Supreme Court by and large has done a fine job all down through the years.

It has said, in effect, to the people of Georgia:

"The two laws presented us are wicked and productive of great evil and political harm to the people of Georgia. But, the people of Georgia adopted them by processes which the court will not touch. It is up to Georgia to determine whether or not they want to live with political evil."

All this means is that oppression in this country, wherever it is found, is our own creation and the power to deal with it is ours whenever we achieve the necessary moral courage to do it. One day we will do it.

RALPH McGILL

Heads Butt--- Reason Flees

In a capitol made suspicious by the erratic capricious and dangerous methods of the loyalty investigations—

In a Congress in which both political parties are split by factional strife and discipline therefore is slack, there will break this week the filibuster against the Fair Employment Practices Act . . . commonly called the FEPC.

It has become a fighting word, stirring men and women to ugly and bitter words.

The tragedy of it is that the basic objective of the measure is sound. In essence it is that a person's race or religion should not prevent him from obtaining and holding a job for which he or she may be qualified. There is hardly a person who would be willing to oppose that sort of ideal or objective.

But, like all ideals and many desirable objectives, the attainment of them does not lie in the field of "thou must" legislation . . . especially when the legislative fiat is surrounded by police and jail sentence sanctions.

Cynical The FEPC has been cheaply and cynically prostituted by the worst of the political panderers. Republicans and Democrats have used it with callous insincerity and without the slightest regard for the objective. They have used it in the tug of war for votes, ignoring the ideal.

In many of the great industrial cities of the East, Midwest and West, the Negro vote has become the balance of power. Both parties seek it with specious promises and special legislative programs. In the desperate scramble for votes the Negro political leaders have quite naturally been intelligent enough to encourage the promising and to reward same with votes. The Negro has met with discrimination in employment. No honest man denies it. Nor does an honest one condone it. But, however one may understand the no-holds-barred contest for the Negro vote, one may still regret that the attempt to remove discrimination has been, or ever was, made a vote-getting mechanical rabbit on the political dog tracks where the candidates and presidential electors "run" after the elusive rabbit of victory and patronage.

Morality We long ago learned we cannot legislate in the field of idealistic morality.

We cannot create brotherhood by law.

A man wise in experience and long close to the heartbeat of America, not long ago used a simple but effective illustration in discussing the civil rights legislation and the strong emotional temperature of it.

"In the old days when doctors encountered scarlet fever," he said, "they used to try and halt the progress of the fever. The result was blind, deaf and otherwise afflicted children. Now we have learned to assist the fever to run its course. The result is a child with no permanent scars and one with an immunity. We must do the same with the fever of racial prejudice. To attempt to halt it by police and jail cells will be permanently harmful. We must help it to run its course by the medicines of workable legislation and by the great weight of public opinion which in America always opposes injustice once the injustice is fully revealed."

That is logic inescapable.

Tragedy The tragedy of the political forces, now met headon like two bulls butting heads from which all reason is gone, is that had not their bills been written with an eye to votes, we could long ago have had a productive FEPC. An FEPC which would allow for investigation, public hearings, conciliation and official recommendations, would work even better than it did during the war. It would be an enormous step forward. The FEPC which was successful during the war learned, to its amazement, that many of those who were charged with discrimination were actually not aware of it and were willing to halt. Others, as soon as reason was applied, came over to the side of fair play.

Now we have a hysterical, dangerous show.

The Republicans hope the Democratic administration will fail to achieve its FEPC measure, so that they may promise to install it and therefore win seats in the congressional races of this year and votes in the 1952 presidential campaign. The Democratic leaders, whether they like the bill or not, dare not face the loss of their States where the Negro vote is at stake.

Result So, no one has said the truth, which is that the extreme proposals are unworkable and will be productive of delay and of scars more ugly than those of the decreasing discrimination of today.

The filibuster is not a democratic weapon.

But, in a situation where neither of the contending forces may say the truth, namely that what they propose is unworkable and harmful, the ironic possibility is that the filibuster may bring about a commonsense compromise—which both parties want but can't publicly admit. And compromise is the necessary and vital ingredient of government by the two-party system.

RALPH McGILL

Frustration In Education

I prowl around with my reading, without much plan or reason, except trying to learn something, and that way you come across a mixture of books and articles and end up not learning too much, I guess.

But I did come across a little book by Dr. Seymour E. Harris, of the Harvard staff of economists, which held me to the finish. Dr. Harris is not too happy about the grim determination to put every child in America through four years of college whether they want it or not.

He is afraid that what we may end up with is a lot of "frustrated intelligentsia." The trouble is that we have built up a theory in this country that an education ought to mean more dollars instead of maybe just a more satisfactory life.

Result The net result is that the average college graduates expect to receive top-level jobs, especially if the graduate is from a professional school. When they don't, they too often become embittered and frustrated, and try to find some outlet. Even some of those who have no professional training feel they somehow ought not to have to start at the bottom.

Dr. Harris has a look at the Nazis and the Communists and puts a finger on one undeniable fact. That is that it was the frustrated intelligentsia type of young man and woman which contributed most to the early rise of Hitlerism. And, of course, the ranks of the Communists in all countries are filled with misfits and failures who feel that life somehow has done them ill and that their merits are not properly appreciated by the coarse and vulgar imperialists and by persons who can hold jobs and get paid for them. He quotes one of the better biographers of Hitler to prove the point that in the post-1918 Germany there were thousands of these frustrated, unemployed persons who hurried to Hitler's side when he began to talk in beer cellars.

Harvest I remember talking, in 1938 after Hitler's speech at the Kroll Opera House across from the burned Reichstag Building, with an American who had stayed in Germany after serving there with the Army of Occupation in 1919. He saw that awful period when Germany was not allowed to develop industrially, even though her plants were not destroyed, and he watched the young men and women being herded along by events and emotions until Hitler appeared and told them he was sent by a super German god to lead them. They believed it, never think they didn't. Anyone who saw and heard them marching and singing "Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Feuhrer" in those days knew it, and those who had to fight them after 1940 knew it better than anyone else.

Jobs Anyhow, Dr. Harris thinks we ought to be looking at the facts and maybe developing a new set of values.

He has some disturbing figures. That is, they will be disturbing if we don't figure out a few things.

In 1940 there were about 3,000,000 college graduates. By 1968, which is just 18 years away, the various drives to put people through college will produce maybe 10,000,000 or more graduates.

To maintain the present level of jobs for graduates in the professional fields there would have to be about a 5,000,000 increase in professional jobs by 1968 to take care of the graduates. Since the increase from 1910 to 1940 was only about 1,800,000 jobs in professional fields, Dr. Harris is not too optimistic.

New This problem is something new to us. There is no reason to believe anything like Hitlerism will develop out of it, but a lot of unhappiness and trouble can come from it.

Dr. Harris thinks the way to get away from it is to abandon the false notion that a college diploma is a guarantee of a high economic status. The holder of a degree need not be ashamed of taking orders or doing some work which calls for use of hands. A knowledge of the philosophers or mathematics need not unfit a man from being a good postal clerk, a policeman or a mechanic. We need more educated persons at every economic level. One should want an education for the sake of the education itself.

We could, and should, get away from the idea that a college degree is necessary. Professional persons need it. But a good course of two years in which the average citizen could learn something of literature, science, music, art, history and economics, would fit such a person for living a better life even though there was no four-year diploma and no "higher status" demanded by a false pride. Such an education should enable them to do a better job, too, and to obtain from it advancement of a satisfactory sort.

Talent To put it briefly, it seemed to me what he was trying to say was that a lot of persons do not have special talents or above the average abilities. This does not mean they are not fine persons and as good as anyone else. It does mean it isn't fair to say to everyone that if one will obtain a four-year diploma one will earn more per week. In other words, education ought not to have as its goal a dollar mark.

It means something else, too. Those with special talents in the professions, or simply those with a keen and burning desire to obtain an education in one of the professions, teaching or whatever, should have that opportunity.

There is every reason to get an education. That many who go to college don't get one is obvious. One has but to look about. There are so many with diplomas who cannot entertain themselves; who cannot be alone, but who must spend their time in furious search for entertainment. They cannot read or play records or live without artificial aids.

Aside from the professions—an education ought to teach one to live.

RALPH McGILL

The Best Show I Ever Saw

ICHAUWAY PLANTATION—After dinner a choir from one of the churches for tenants came up to sing some spirituals and earn some money for their church work.

They sang well. They sang the spirituals which are almost never sung professionally. They sang songs like "Yonder Comes Day," which is merely the words of a field hand going out before dawn to get his mule ready for the plowing and seeing the dawn break over the fields and pines. It is a simple and brief song but it has one of the finest lines I have ever heard—"Day, oh day, Yonder comes day; Day done broke into my soul, yonder comes day."

Day Any man who has been out in the open in the quiet of a countryside and seen day come walking slowly out of the darkness knows very well that day does seem to break into a man's soul, perhaps because it is, in a sense, a symbol of eternity, light replacing darkness.

They sang, too, the spiritual, "God's a Battle Axe—God's a Battle Axe in the time of war, a shelter in a mighty storm." This one contains a bit of majestic poetry out of the Scriptures, "I saw a woman dressed in the sun with the moon down under her feet. . . ." There were others, equally fine. The two above happen to appeal to me because of their simplicity and the central theme . . . positive and sure.

Last When the tractor has pushed the last Negro tenant off the land something will be gone from religion which was, and is, wonderful and fine. To them God was a Being who not only could, but did, come down on earth to comfort and cheer. God might be encountered in some form as a man went down a road riding his mule back to the barn or plowing a field. A man might sit down at night, low in his mind, and be comforted by the presence of God. A man could sit in his chair before the fire and talk to God. Their sermons were in that manner. They were not intellectual or "written down." They were powerful gospel sermons in the old exhorting sense. It was a good evening.

Show But it was after this was done that Edgar Bergen asked to do a show. He is, perhaps, the only comedian on radio and television whose performances fit the true meaning of comedy, since it is never slapstick, or vulgar or dependent on double meanings, but always very funny. It does on the air what Charlie Chaplin's genius did on the screen, although, of course, the styles and techniques are not the same.

I don't know what Bergen is paid. It is several thousand dollars a week, out of which he must pay for his staff and its expenses. But there is a substantial amount left over for Bergen.

Work People are apt to say, in envy, "The lucky stiff. Here he had all that talent and cashed in on it." They forget, or more than likely don't know, that in the beginning there was no great talent, but only the will to achieve. There were long years of working for sums so small the Bergen stomach frequently complained about being empty. There were years of working at club conventions and doing entertaining at luncheons for sums as small as $25 and $50—and they didn't come every week. There were years of vaudeville at $75 a week. All the while he was learning and improving and developing a technique and a skill. And, since it was America in which he worked, there was opportunity for skill and opportunity to meet. These years of great success and rich return are relatively new. When opportunity came, he had worked hard and was ready.

Artist Anyhow, as the choir of men and women were about to go, Bergen asked them to wait. It was then we saw a great artist—a show money couldn't buy. He took cards used for bridge and out of his old entertaining days, did card tricks. He did more "magic" with a cane. He did other simple tricks from his old repertoire. And, finally, he did something which I hope someday he will put on television. Time was when he had no expensively constructed dummy or sets of dummies like Charley McCarthy and Mortimer Snerd. In those days he would take a grease-stick paint and mark eyes on his hand, draw a dark line along thumb and forefinger, and then shape his hand until this became a small face.

Wonder About this he wound a handkerchief and from it the tiny face peered forth, wonderfully like an old woman's face. The mouth moved as she "talked." It was almost uncanny, and it was wonderful, too, to see one of the highest-paid artists in the world standing there in a long living room, with logs burning on the hearth, doing a tremendous show for people who had, at best, seen perhaps a few movies in a small town. Their faces, their laughter, their amazement, were themselves a show.

Edgar Bergen "worked" for more than an hour, giving it everything he had. He could not have applied himself more if he had been auditioning for a new contract. There we could see both the great comedian and a very fine man, clearly revealed. As I said, the man is, in my opinion and that of millions of others, the one who comes closest to the true meaning of comedy. It is not surprising he is also a very great gentleman and a man with a sensitive and understanding heart.

McGill Asserts Educators' Lapse Brought on Klan

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — (UP) — Ralph McGill, Editor of The Atlanta Constitution, told a Nashville audience the failure of university leaders and educated citizens to accept responsibility for their Government resulted in the existence of such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan.

McGill, in addressing the Vanderbilt Club here, said conditions will remain as they are until civic, welfare and business leaders devote the same interest to politics as they do to other fields of endeavor.

The writer pointed out that the South is undergoing an "actual, fundamental revolution" from the old-type rural economy to an urban industrialized era. McGill said it is the duty of educated men and women to lead in this "revolution."

The Editor added, "We must keep up the Marshall Plan or some development of it, and we'll win the cold war and peace. It's worth the price we have to pay."

RALPH McGILL

The Better Story Is Frank Smathers

George Smathers, who is handsome enough to cause Gregory Peck and others of the Hollywood male glamor set to feel like masculine hags, will be the new United States Senator from Florida, replacing the veteran Claude Pepper.

Smathers' career is one which revives belief in auguries, stars of destiny and so on. Still three years shy of 40, he has moved from success to success from the time he entered high school in Miami until his latest and most impressive political victory.

His enemies say he is a fellow who so carefully plans every move he never makes an error.

His friends, and even curious persons who take the trouble to investigate, know that isn't true. Nor is it good sense to explain it in terms astrological or Delphic. Well educated, talented and observant, he plans and ventures boldly and well.

Father Perhaps the best explanation is the finest thing about Smathers—his father. The Smathers are North Carolina stock. Frank Smathers was a football and baseball star at the University of North Carolina. A graduate of the law school, he went to Atlantic City, N. J., to practice law. After a few years in which he lived largely on the free coffee and sandwiches found at Democratic political rallies, he had enough law practice to marry his sweetheart back in North Carolina. Woodrow Wilson appointed him a judge and he was at the peak of success when arthritis crippled him. A doctor said it was Florida or die. The Judge went there with three small children, one of them George, and began to practice law in a strange State with no friends. Within a few years he had established himself successfully. Arthritis returned. Since 1937 he has been confined to bed and chair, in constant pain.

Courage One of my fine experiences was spending a few hours with him while gathering material about his son—soon to be the new United States Senator. His mind is sharp and his wit pointed. His hands are gnarled with the cruel tensions of arthritis. Yet, by holding a pencil between the swollen, twisted fingers he has written a story good enough for Reader's Digest and is halfway through a novel. During the campaign he helped edit his sons' speeches and provided valuable advice. No step was taken without consulting the Judge.

The Smathers family is closely knit. Father and children are enormously proud of Mrs. Frank Smathers, who knows almost everyone in Miami. She is a willing victim of much teasing. The Judge, for example, says they are not sure whether she knows everyone in Miami, but that Mrs. Smathers isn't. Her journeys downtown are a procession of greetings and handshaking.

Story The Judge has a favorite story which is almost certainly apochryphal but which he delights to tell, with Mrs. Smathers smiling benignly. The story relates that Mrs. Smathers was on a train from Miami to New York. A gentleman sitting up the way in the Pullman car had a familiar look about him. Mrs. Smathers was sure she had met him. But the name would not come. On the way to the diner she bowed and the gentleman stood and bowed, but did not speak.

"On the way back," says the Judge, his face beaming, "Mother couldn't stand it any longer. She had to know. She stopped before the man and said, 'Pardon me, but I know I have met you somewhere.'"

(As the Judge reaches the kicker line of his story he always looks to see how Mrs. Smathers is reacting. Usually she is patient, having heard it dozens of times as the Judge entertained favored visitors with it.)

"The man stood," says the Judge, "and said, with great courtesy, 'My name is Jack Dempsey, madam, and I am sure we never met in the ring.'"

The family is an attractive one. The wife of the Senator-to-be is one of the most charming of persons and without doubt will be a popular figure in Washington society.

Boys Students of childhood environment would do well to consult the Judge. He did not allow pain and suffering to keep him away from his boys. He early taught them to work. They always had chores to do. He taught them thrift. He made them learn to box and encouraged them to participate in athletics. The new Senator was a star at basketball and track. But he also subjected them, at an early age, to great books. He insisted on them learning to recite and debate. His favorite recipe for raising a boy is to keep the boy from developing a big, strong neck and a weak little head. The Judge wants them both developed.

The results are pretty fine—and George Smathers is but one of the substantiating exhibits.

The evidence seems to be that a good, patient father can be an asset to his boys.

McGill Sees Court As Road To Full Negro Citizenship Rights

BY WILLIAM GORDON

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution told an audience at Morris Brown College Tuesday that "we must believe in civil rights" and that above being good Southerners "we must first be good Americans."

The occasion was the 69th annual Founders' Day celebration of Morris Brown College being held on the campus of this most highly praised institution founded by the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. McGill was the principal speaker.

Editor McGill told his capacity audience, composed of students, faculty members, and friends of Morris Brown, that a most effective means for the Negro to achieve full citizenship rights is through governmental procedure. Such he said would come about as a result of wel organized and well planned court action.

While emphasizing his stand on civil rights, editor McGill praised Dr. Ralph Bunche for his present stand on the question of human relations. He apologied for not being present to hear Dr. Bunche on his visit to Atlanta Sunday, at which time the director of the United Nations Trusteeship Division delivered the fifth John Hope lecture, a special feature dedicated to the life and work of the former president of Atlanta University.

While telling a brief story of his recent trip to Palestine and the Far East editor McGill said "we are not alone with a problem here in America." He told how deep the feeling of hate and prejudice still persist among the Jews and Arabs in the Holy Land. He backed up this statement by saying that "prejudice is false in its premis" and that to generalize in this field is most "dangerous."

In praising the founders and present leaders of Morris Brown College the editor of the Constitution also told his audience he was disappointed in the recent Supreme Court decision of the Georgia county unit system. Speaking of the methods through which the Negro is trying to achieve full citizenship, he said "if I were you I would also be impatient."

Founders' Day ceremonies at Morris Brown have long been a program of outstanding significance when the Bishop and his presiding elders meet to pay their respects to those who founded the school.

Headed by Bishop R. R. Wright head of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in this section who is also chairman of the board of trustees of Morris Brown, money is raised to assist with the school's cost.

Aside from regular Founder's Day activities which are discussed on this occasion, the school announces the number of scholarships to be given to deserving students entering Morris Brown. Bishop Wright anounced on Tuesday that upwards of 100 such scholarships are to be presented to prospective students this year.

Morris Brown, which had its beginning as a small school is presently an "A" rated institution among the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and is affiliated with the Atlanta University System.

Even though the school was founded by members of the African Methodist Episcopal faith its students represent a cross-section of various denomonations. The same is true of the faculty.

The Founders' Day ceremonies were begun with a fellowship sermon preached by Bishop Carey A. Gibbs of West Africa, now visiting in the United States. Bishop Gibbs spoke at St. Mark AME church on Monday night.

Speaking at the afternoon services on Tuesday was Bishop DeOrmond Walker of the Fifth Episcopal District.

President W. A. Fountain, Jr. was master of ceremonies for the morning services held in the chapel at Morris Brown.

RALPH McGILL

'Laws Are Like Medicines'

It was an interesting feature of the recent Supreme Court decisions reaffirming the separate but equal school laws of the Southern states, that those chiefly excited were politicians who habitually use the race issue for votes.

The school people were deeply concerned. They long have wanted to equalize the school facilities. They know the great expense of it.

The thoughtful citizen who knows that any Federal fiat breaking down segregation would bring about a dangerous and critical situation, was again made acutely aware of the fact that we must act to prevent it. Blind, wilful resistance is not the answer.

What the court did was to rule once more that a state must provide equal facilities if it is to have separate ones. That was the case in Texas. In Oklahoma the state had admitted Negroes to professional schools but had there caused them to sit in corners and had otherwise circumscribed their movements. The court ruled that once the state had admitted them as students it must treat them as any other students.

These are, of course, inescapable decisions. They still reaffirm states' rights to separate schools.

Southerners

As one proud of being a Southerner, I have never been willing to believe Southerners wanted Negro school children to have shacks while other children had modern buildings. I would never agree Southern people wanted Negro children to walk long distances while other children rode in school buses.

I just don't believe that. We are not that kind of people. The truth of it is the average Southerner didn't know the great discriminations and was not aware of their implications and meanings.

I believe the average Southerner wants full justice done. He wants the schools to be separate but equal.

The "haters" howl and expose their own feeling of insecurity. But they don't represent the South and the Southern concept of justice.

The Law

A gentleman called and said the law of Georgia didn't require equal facilities—only separate.

Well, that is an old dodge and an unworthy one. Happily, it is also an untenable one.

The law does require separate and equal, or adequate, education for all. Article 8, section 1, of the Georgia constitution declares that "provision of an adequate education for the citizens of the state shall be a primary obligation of the State of Georgia . . . separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races."

The constitution does not hint imply or say that because they are separate one shall be more or less adequate than the other. So, unless one wishes to quibble about words, or intent of the law, there it is—outside the Federal law.

In Support

If the dissenters still wish to argue, let us turn to Article 1, paragraph 25, of the State Constitution, which says:

"All citizens of the United States, resident in Georgia, are hereby declared citizens of this state, and it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to enact such laws as will protect THEM in the FULL enjoyment of the rights, privileges and immunities due to such citizenship."

That's plain enough. They are citizens of the United States and guaranteed the full rights of a citizen. The 14th amendment covers the whole story.

Add that to the paragraph on education and you have it nailed down . . . the law and Constitution of Georgia specifically disallow any discrimination.

There are a lot more legal provisions. Paragraph 2 of Article 1, says the protection of the government "shall be impartial and complete."

Paragraph 2, of Section 4, states: "Legislative acts in violation of the Constitution of the United States, are void. . . ." The Federal law says they shall be separate but equal. We are bound.

So, of course the laws of the states require that the schools be equally adequate if separate. There is no argument about it. Those who hold back with unrealistic argument, are those who hasten the end of segregation. To avoid it we must act in good faith—and in haste.

I believe the mass of Southern people believe in fairness and justice and law.

RALPH McGILL

States' Rights Are Upheld!

For a long time mourners went about the streets in sackcloth and ashes, lamenting because, they said, the Supreme Court of the United States was too extreme and lacking in any quality of conservatism.

Gradually the court, which was never as liberal as the critics insisted, changed as new appointments came in. Today it is the left-wingers among us who shake doleful heads and view with twittery alarm the "extreme conservatism of the Court."

On Monday afternoon the court delivered three extremely conservative decisions in which the status of segregation was involved.

Status Quo

Yet, partly because the press associations fumbled the story and sent out inexcusably confused and even erroneous interpretations, there were some Southern citizens who went into their adagio dance acts and howled out of tune like cats on a midnight fence.

The Governor of Georgia, who either hadn't read the statements or didn't understand them if he did, which was understandable, issued an illogical statement. His course should be to expand regional educational facilities. The decisions constitute a clear warning to obey the law.

As a matter of fact the Supreme Court upheld States' Rights, a bit of irony not to be overlooked.

Little Reason

The reaction from the hysterical fringe recalled a bit of doggerel by Jonathan Swift:

"Logicians have but ill defined
As rational, the human kind;
Reason, they say, belonged to man;
But, let them prove it if they can."

So, let us take a text from Isaiah, 1:18, "Come now, let us reason together."

There were two school decisions by the court.

Let us keep in mind, before we come to them, that the laws of the various Southern states require that the school facilities be separate but equal.

The Decisions

Now, let us proceed to an analysis of the decisions.

Out in Texas a Negro student wishing to study law applied for admission to the state law school. The state, having no such school, hastily set up one. It was admittedly a poor substitute.

So, the Supreme Court has ruled the State of Texas must provide equal services or admit him to the law school.

That is not a new law. It is Texas' own law.

Oklahoma Negroes were admitted to the university professional schools. The Supreme Court said in this case that if the state did admit them it could not then discriminate against them.

Has the court made a new ruling?

Not at all.

Any fair-minded person must see that the court has done nothing but rule once more that the states must provide equal facilities if they wish to maintain separate ones.

In the matter of dining cars on trains which travel across state lines the court held there could be no compulsory segregation. There may be voluntary, and will be. This follows in line with the bus line, Pullman and air line decisions.

Past Failure

This has been a subject of mine for years in which I have joined with others in urging the South to do the fair thing, and to hasten equalization of services.

Georgia's great Confederate war hero, General John B. Gordon, Ben Hill, one of the heroes of reconstruction, and Henry W. Grady, another of the post-war leaders—all joined in their day in like appeals.

We should have known that we could not solemnly pass laws and then cynically and cruelly ignore them and get away with it forever. Certainly there were vast discriminations. There still are. We are caught in the trap of our own laws.

All the Supreme Court has done—yet—is to say that we must enforce our own laws.

The court has not struck down segregation or in any manner abolished it in the states having segregation laws.

It is a dishonest person who attempts to tell the people the court has done so.

The court has simply upheld our own laws. Segregation is sustained—but the facilities must be equal.

That's States' Rights!

McGILL

'In a Piteously Long Time—'

Frank Lausche couldn't get into the Ku Klux Klan.

He is too good an American.

He recently gave to the nation the finest example of Americanism we have had in a piteously long time.

Frank Lausche is a clean, refreshing wind blowing through the fetid air of McCarthy-ism and general political selfishness. He is a rock in a land weary of the mouthings of the little, greedy men willing to harm their country if by so doing they could hold or gain a few votes. He is not afraid, when so many are fearful.

It is perhaps significant, and it assuredly is hopeful, that this fine example of statesmanship and Americanism from a man in public life should come from one whose very life itself is an illustration of one of the chief meanings of America.

Governor

Frank Lausche is the Democratic Governor of Ohio. It is his second term, his first having been in 1945-46. He also has been Mayor of Cleveland.

His parents came to this country from Slovakia. They spoke no English. The father went to work in the steel mills near Cleveland. Their son grew up in the mill town. He worked and studied. He earned a law degree, passed the State bar, and was admitted to practice. By the very nature of his practice he was in contact with the politics of his ward.

The record indicates he was never an orthodox politician.

His majority in 1948 was 221,000. President Truman carried the State by about 7,000.

They say of him that he plays politics by ear.

He shocked his own party, as well as the Republicans, whose shock soon gave way to delight, by saying in an interview at a recent meeting of Governors, he had not made up his mind as to whom he would vote for in the Ohio Senate race.

The Democrats have nominated the State Auditor. Sen. Taft is the Republican nominee.

"I will not allow my party interests to overcome my interest in my country," said the Democratic Governor.

Senator Taft

Governor Lausche shares what any thoughtful American must have for Senator Taft—respect. The Senator is another independent who does his own thinking. Very often this leads him into strange pastures, and to inexpli-

cable decisions. He is often in error. He seems to have almost a genius for being wrong in the field of foreign affairs. In demestic matters he is a thorough student. But, in international decisions he is almost always wrong. Some of these are historic.

On April 14, 1940, Senator Taft was one of those opposing selective service because "no necessity exists requiring such drastic action." Had we not passed the bill we would have been in an even more tragic situation than we were when war came.

On Aug 1, 1941, he issued a statement the situation was clarified and more hopeful, and in September he said:

"There is much less danger to the country than there was two years ago, certainly much less than there was one year ago."

Pearl Harbor was coming very close, even then. They reveal, when contrasted with the awareness of Roosevelt and others, his greatest weakness. But none has ever doubted his great integrity, his stubborn independence, and ability in other fields.

Two-Party System

Gov. Lausche did not go into detail. But one of the factors which inspired him to his statement undoubtedly was a concern for the two-party system.

There are those who seek to destroy that system.

If Senator Taft could be removed from the Republican scene his party would be enormously weakened. He will hardly receive his party's presidential nomination, but he does give to its capitol representation strength, independence and character.

He supplies bone and sinew to the two-party system. That system is under attack by the greedy and prejudice blinded Dixiecrats in the South. In the North there are men like Walter Reuther whose consuming political ambition is to create a third party based on labor. He apparently has gained control of the Americans for Democratic Action and is using it as a basic vehicle.

It is this situation, I am sure, which looms large in Governor Lausche's mind as he weighs his decision with the best interests of his country his guiding star.

In a time of pettiness on the political scene he has given us integrity.

RALPH

McGILL

A Big Broom Is Sweeping

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — Darkness had at last replaced the sun-weary, heat - steeped day. We drove out a country road seeking any breezes blowing. Suddenly, on our right, was the clamorous sound of a tractor, and we could see its headlight cutting a swath through the soft night. On the air were the smells of the machine's exhaust and of new-plowed earth. A farmer was catching up the delay caused by rains.

That tractor was one of about 18,000 in Alabama.

It was one of more than 40,000 in the Southeast.

One tractor replaces, roughly, one farm family of four persons each.

That tractor, proceeding methodically down the field, was a factor in the displacement of an approximate 1,600,000 Southern farm people.

The rate of displacement continues . . . white and Negro . . . they are leaving the farms and moving to towns, most of them out of the South.

What is happening to the Negro farm population in the South also is happening to the small white farmers. Foolish and thoughtless politicians busy themselves with stopgaps. They talk irresponsibly of the vote restrictive measures when the psychological reason for it already is gone, or fast going. They do not bother with the real human problem, which burgeons.

Decreases

Change is sweeping with a big broom in all the nation, and nowhere is it sweeping so thoroughly as in the South.

Between 1930 and 1945 the number of farms in the South decreased by one-third of a million. The '50 figures likely will report even fewer.

Here at Tuskegee, which is one of the really great educational institutions of the nation because it consistently relates education to the people and their daily lives, there goes on a continuing study of human problems. One, of course, is population trends and meanings.

The great decrease in Southern farmers has been chiefly among the Negro farm operators, tenants, croppers and renters of land. Since 1900 there has been a steady movement of people to cities. Alabama is a typical cotton-state study.

Study

Since the Civil War the proportion of Negroes in the population has declined from 47.7 percent in 1870 to 34.7 percent in 1940. The 1950 census will show a further decrease.

Since the Civil War the number of white people in Alabama has increased four times while the number of Negroes has increased two and one fourth times.

This is a picture of all the cotton South. It varies little, percentage-wise.

In 1945 there were in the South one-fourth fewer Negroes than in 1910. The figures of this year will reveal continuation of the trend.

In the South, only North Carolina, where educational opportunities attracted and where tobacco was stabilized with added value manufacture and wages, showed a gain. It had 8,000 more Negroes in 1945 than in 1910. Most of these were successful farmers.

The Cities

The population map reveals the urban facts.

Not until 1940 did the urban Negro population exceed that of the rural. This was almost true of the white population which had changed its status a short while before. In 1910 about 75 percent of all Negroes were in rural communities. By 1940, 60 percent were in cities, about three-fifths of the total.

Greatest increase was in cities nearest, but out of the South. Between 1910 and 1940 Negro populations of large Eastern cities tripled and quadrupled. Percentage-wise, the leader was Detroit, with Los Angeles in second place and Chicago in third. Then came Cleveland, Kansas City, New York and Philadelphia. In that period New York gained from 124,000 to 410,000. Since 1940 the increase in those cities probably has been five times what it was in 1910.

There was a decrease west of Kansas City and east of San Francisco.

Southern cities, too, gained, but their percentages, save that of Miami and Palm Beach, were small. The latter two cities gained largely in percentage figures, since in 1910 there were not many people, especially Negros, in either city.

Keep in mind there have been great shifts of white population, too.

It is important to know what is happening and to try and meet the impact of change with intelligence and understanding . . . not with violence, wringing hands or foolish words.

RALPH

McGILL

'Get Thee Glass Eyes'

In Mr. Shakespeare's play "King Lear," there is a quote, which I deem presently apropos; since it is once more obvious that some of our politicians, in their desperate attempt to fool the people, have also succeeded in fooling themselves.

The quote is from the fourth act in the tremendous and piteous scene when the poor, harassed Lear is speaking:

"Get thee glass eyes;
And like a scurvy politician, seem
To see the thing thou dost not."

Let us attempt to bring a little sanity into the political discussions, which are so filled with windiness and infantile silliness as to be almost incredible.

What do they seem to see which they do not see?

Unit System

One such fantasy is the county unit system, defended with so much sound and fury. There is no defense for it. It is entirely evil and designed only to fool the people.

Let's look at it.

Do any other states, Southern or otherwise, have the county unit system?

No, they do not.

Then why do the politicians say they want to keep it in Georgia?

They say it protects the rural counties from the cities.

Is that true?

No, it is not true. Georgia alone has the unit system. Alabama is not controlled by its cities. In Louisiana, New Orleans, which is a larger city than Atlanta, is always on the losing side. Memphis never controlled Tennessee. The Crump machine made an alliance with machines in East Tennessee and was in power for a while, but even that now is smashed. In no Southern state do the cities control. It is simply not true to say the unit system protects the rural counties from the cities. If no other Southern state has the unit system and still is free from city dominance, obviously Georgia would be, too. So that argument is full of holes and false. It always has been.

Corruption

The politicians fool the people in the small counties. The unit system explains why the smart boys always want a third man in the Governor's race.

In many races in Georgia the small counties have never been able to enjoy majority rule. Under the unit system the candidate with a plurality wins the county. Thus, one man may have 310 votes, the next one 309 and a third candidate 308. Yet the candidate with 310 votes would win the county despite the fact 617 votes were cast against him.

The unit system is a device used by small county courthouse cliques to hold power. They may never be able to get a majority, but they can usually vote enough relatives to give one man a small plurality.

Blackmail

The county unit system is responsibile for the fact that Georgia has about 50 to 60 counties which are for sale up to, and including the night before the voting. In times past three governors and their leaders have told me as much and identified the counties.

They all have known they were subject to blackmail by these counties. Yet, they never dare oppose the iniquitous and corrupting unit system because they know it will mean opposition. So, they continue to play over and over the old cracked record that it keeps down city machines and "protects" rural counties. These counties are losing population because they are greedily held by the unit chains. Young people leave them because they are without opportunity.

No other Southern state—let's repeat it—has the unit system. They all have politics as good or better than ours; their government is in as good or superior shape; they mostly have excellent roads and schools.

Our unit system stands convicted as the chief reason for the fact no Georgia governor can do a first rate, thorough job until the state is rid of it.

No, I don't expect that to happen soon. The people are fooled.

But keep in mind—no other state has it! Have we done a better job of government with it?

The answer is, of course, no.

RALPH McGILL

James Byrnes Comes Back!

CHARLESTON, S. C.—From the Battery we looked on the bay, by night. A pale light, sifted by thin clouds, silvered the scene of ancient glories and sorrows where 89 years ago the bitter old man, Edmund Ruffin, pulled the lanyard which sent the first shell on its flaming way to Fort Sumter and the reluctant sister States to war.

During the day James Francis Byrnes, candidate for Governor of South Carolina, had spoken at Moncks Corner and Charleston.

He had said again that he became interested in the Governorship of his native State after he had made speeches condemning increase in Federal power and what he considered a drift toward more socialization in government and received urgings that he run.

(His critics say for 30 years he helped create these national trends and cannot sincerely now be against them. They say also "Jimmy Byrnes has been for more, and against less, than any man in politics.")

He again had pledged he would not be a candidate for the Presidency on any ticket and would, at the end of his term, seek no other office.

He also had reaffirmed his intention to seek the aid of other Southern Governors in opposing the Federal administration's policies.

Meaning

"Once again," said a South Carolina newspaper man, "the South is going to be asked to accept the leadership of South Carolina in what will amount to a political secession from the Democratic party. The issues are in many respects identical with those of 1860-61.

"Jimmy Byrnes will be elected. He is a fine man and a sincere, patriotic American who has served his country well. There will be a substantial opposition vote, but I do not think it will force a run-over. There are those who don't admire him. His campaigning has irritated some. (Byrnes has traveled in a chauffeur-driven Cadillac; has appeared only when his speech was due in the order of rotation with three other candidates, and has promptly departed, without notice or mention of them. The crowd usually awaits his arrival and departs with him.)

"He has kept his exact plans from even his closest friends. The Dixiecrats won four states in 1948. But Byrnes has said he is no Dixiecrat. He has refused to speak a word for them and this is resented. But he is bitterly anti-Truman.

"Byrnes, like Henry Wallace, sees in Harry Truman what he would have been had Roosevelt stood firmly for him. But, like Wallace, although for different reasons, Byrnes was dropped. The President liked Byrnes very much, but his leaders said he would not be acceptable to the Catholic vote because he had abandoned that church for a Protestant one, and also because the South Carolina position, not Byrnes', would affect the Negro vote.

"But, whatever the personal feeling, there is no doubt whatever that his election will make him the symbol of opposition to President Truman and the Administration Civil Rights Program. Byrnes also seeks to have some taxes removed from the federal field and restored to the states.

"How effective he will be depends upon how much the Southern governors are willing to surrender their own political sovereignty to his direction. There may be some, like Long in Louisiana, who will prefer to remain independent and not accept Gov. Byrnes as the man to lead the South. But none should fail to see that his election means the creation of a Southern bloc with him as its directing leader."

Divided Party

So believes South Carolina. It may be enough to divide the party. It could assure the election of a Republican nominee who may be, of course, even more devoted to a Civil Rights program than Harry S. Truman.

Jimmy Byrnes is the most eminent South Carolinian since Wade Hampton. He was Congressman for seven terms, Senator for two. He quit the Supreme Court to become Director of Economic Stabilization and later Director of War Mobilization. In Congress he supported Wilson's League of Nations and Cordell Hull's Reciprocal Trade agreements. He was for Lend Lease and against neutrality legislation. He went to Yalta with Roosevelt and has defended the negotiations there.

Harry Truman made him Secretary of State. The break came after Potsdam.

Return of such a man to state politics, with the attached significance of the Southern revolt, gives to the Palmetto primary a national interest and meaning.

RALPH McGILL

Sisters Under Their Skins

COLUMBIA, S. C.—South Carolina and Georgia are sisters under their economic skins, whatever ideas the sensitive low-country Carolinian may entertain about the social and cultural qualities of his neighboring Georgians, plagued as they are by that unfortunate debtors' prison cloud.

Both are orphans of old King Cotton.

Both are conditioned and formed by the cotton belt, that band of loamy earth which begins in the southeastern tip of Virginia, misses Kentucky, takes in part of west Tennessee, passes through North Carolina to expand and cover most of Georgia and South Carolina; which then dips into North Florida, extends across Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas to spread out at last across Texas and Oklahoma.

Like Georgia, South Carolina has had her traditions and her folkways shaped by the crises of civil war, reconstruction and the pinching fingers of a poverty accentuated when the large, newly freed Negro population was abandoned by the radicals, who took over after Lincoln's death, in the region with the fewest jobs and a shattered, one-crop economy.

This is not to excuse, but to explain.

As James F. Byrnes, candidate for Governor in the primary which presently stirs this State, said of the South Carolina and Southern problem:

"It is time for more thinking and less talking."

Palmetto State

South Carolina is shaped roughly like a triangle covering 30,989 square miles, of which 494 are water. (Georgia covers about 58,876 square miles, of which about 350 are water.)

One of her chief features is the fall line which roughly bisects the state along a diagonal between the North Carolina boundary in Chesterfield County and the Georgia boundary in Aiken County. (She has but 46 Counties, Georgia an awkward and costly 159.)

This fall line separates two South Carolinas which are called the Up-country and the Low-country.

Like Georgia, her principal natural resource is her farm land. But, like Georgia, she has no oil, no iron ore, sparse supplies of bauxite, no sulphur, no minerals in supply to attract industries to exploit them. Her port of Charleston is superior to Savannah, but it is far below its potential.

Her resources are her farm lands, the timber that grows on them, and her labor supply . . . or, in other words, her people, which like Georgia's, have lacked jobs and income and have known the inevitable associations of inferior schools, state services and general progress.

Change

But, here in South Carolina, there is the spirit of hope and the evidence of change. One goes along her roads and sees many people busy with cotton. But the trend is to pastures and cattle. There is as much talk and as much preoccupation here with kudzu, serecias, fescues, clovers and grasses as in Georgia.

Cotton still is king here, to a greater extent percentage wise than in Georgia. But here, too, the white-faced cattle, the Black Angus, and the improving "grades" of beef and dairy types are driving westward.

Here, also, comes industry, much of it vast, to tap the labor supply and the plentiful presence of water. Modern industry has a mighty thirst and requires millions of gallons of fresh water daily.

The first Southern textile mill was in South Carolina. The largest such under one roof is here now, at Lancaster, where 7,000 looms are busy day and night. Now the greater ones come. Camden watches DuPont's huge Orlon plant go up—a plant which will produce another fiber to shoo Cotton along the way. There are other vast plants over the state, attracted by the development of hydro power.

The South Carolinian has about 42 percent Negro population to about 34 percent in Georgia, and the sound and fury of the race orators and the demagogues, who talk but do not think or reason, is perhaps a little louder under the Palmettos.

But, however one looks, one fact remains . . . the South Carolinian and the Georgian suffer from the same ills, depend upon identical resources, and are products of like social and economic forces. Both are making great progress, having like qualities of courage.

But both, in the words of the distinguished James F. Byrnes, the South's best-known elder Statesman, could do with more thinking and less talking.

RALPH McGILL

Notes on Roy V. Harris

A few days before the Georgia primary, Mr. Roy V. Harris, Georgia's amiably astute politician, who is the only one worthy to be called "an old political pro," wrote thusly in his weekly political paper:

"Governor Herman Talmadge ought to thank God for M. E. Thompson. . . . Another candidate might well defeat him. . . . The Governor's job was to jockey Thompson into an early announcement and thus keep out strong opposition which this year could have won."

The results again prove Mr. Harris, "the Richmond Reynard," to have been exactly right.

A strong candidate would easily have defeated the incumbent Governor. The final vote was about even. There was no strong statewide demand for Gov. Talmadge on the part of the people.

Even in the small rural counties where the name Talmadge has been magic, it still was magic but it was not nearly so strong as before. Down in South Georgia, where the farm vote traditionally has gone heavily for Talmadge, father and son, the opposition ran strongly and the Talmadge margin was small in most of the two-vote, rural counties.

Victory

Thus it comes about that victory perches on the Talmadge banners because of one factor and one factor only—organization.

Two weeks before the race it was said here that a survey suggested Gov. Talmadge was then assured of at least 100 counties. On the morning of the balloting, our editorial estimate was a minimum of 115 counties for the Governor.

It was possible to make such estimates because of the fact of organization with Mr. Harris' hand on the throttle.

Yet, here is M. E. Thompson, a political accident, with no organization, who ran strongly ahead of the Governor on popular votes, until the late counting on Thursday. (There are those who have their ideas about the counting in many of the counties which invariably manage to delay tallying a few hundred votes.) Little of this was a "for" Thompson vote. It was an "agin" Talmadge expression.

Imagine what would have happened had there been an organization behind a strong opposition candidate! Mr. Harris himself said it well in his pre-primary publication which he headed, "Gov. Talmadge ought to thank God for M. E. Thompson."

Unit Iniquity

As a matter of fact, Gov. Talmadge cannot say the popular vote for his opponent came from the cities. Some of it did. But to so assert is to emphasize that even in the Talmadge rural strongholds Thompson was well up in the running. Actually, the only real gain the Governor showed was in the cities. Nor is it possible for the Governor to insist the Negro voters did not care for either of the candidates. They were among the approximate 600,000 registered voters who did not go to the polls in protest against both.

The county unit vote system—which no other state in the union uses—gave the Governor a very substantial, and anticipated, majority of unit votes. But, rarely before has the unit system been so revealed as the weapon of small, corrupted counties—and not at all their protection.

Pattern

Mr. Harris, who knows more about government and the professional methods of politics than anyone else in the state, produced an organization.

The primary revealed how completely shattered is the old anti-Talmadge organization which Mr. Harris once led.

In northwest Georgia where Judge Red Townsend is accounted a political power, even the CIO was won over to Talmadge. This was once a solid anti-Talmadge bloc of counties held by Judge Townsend and former Governor E. D. Rivers. They went for Gov. Talmadge. In the South Georgia territory where Gov. Rivers still has strength, Talmadge made heavy inroads. The inevitable conclusion is that much of the Rivers organization again threw its weight to Gov. Talmadge as it did to his father in the Carmichael campaign of four years ago.

We would like to amend Mr. Harris' published statement of a few days before the primary. To his sentence, "Gov. Talmadge ought to thank God for M. E. Thompson" we would like to suggest he add, "—and Roy V. Harris."

RALPH McGILL

A Long Fall To Hell's Abyss

From Heaven's gates to hell's abyss is one sheer flight they say, and politically speaking Henry Wallace knows it to be true.

The man who might have been president of his country had he possessed more stability, has now resigned from his Progressive Party, which the Communists took from him and built around him. He was the very last to see it, and the vision must have been bitter indeed.

He is left, naked and abandoned by those who cynically cheered him—a political prodigal son for whom there will be no fattened calf.

When the Korean fighting began, Henry Wallace could see, as could the world, that it was Russia whose puppets were the aggressors. It was very simple. The North Koreans were in South Korea.

And so Wallace split with his party's committee, stating that he agreed with the views of his country with regard to the aggression. Knowing the man, one can picture what happened. Henry Wallace had no doubt but that the party would follow him. He steadfastly had refused to believe charges it was Communist-dominated.

So, he waited. A few letters came. Nothing more.

And so, from his home in South Salem, N. Y., Henry Wallace wrote his brief resignation.

The Communists in the party were silent. Beany Baldwin, who has more actively followed the Communist line for the past five years than any known Communist, was second in command. He did not follow his chief.

It was an open admission. The Communists were in charge and until the Kremlin gave them word they would damn their own country as aggressors. Until they were told what to say, they could not answer.

Wallace

The tragedy of Henry Wallace is that he is an honest man. He believed all he said and was sincere in his deeds. That was what made him so dangerous and so valuable to the Communists. One can understand a corrupt or vicious person adopting the cloak of idealism. Such persons are not difficult to overcome or expose.

But Wallace was dangerous because he was honest—and, we learned, unstable.

Because he was honest there were thousands who admired and followed him. They were with him when he went to the New Republic as editor. The circulation shot up to an astonishing 400,000 from somewhere well below 100,000. Some followed him, in hope, long after they knew the Commies had him.

There was another tragic flaw in Henry Wallace, and a not uncommon one. Disappointment embittered him. The acid of it destroyed his perspective. He became increasingly soured by the fact President Roosevelt had traded him off for Harry S. Truman.

Captive

One of the editors with Wallace wrote a magazine article months afterwards. In it he said that within three months after Wallace came to the job, he was already captive of a claque, the Communists, who were always about him. They kept the sound of applause always in his ears, and applause is sweeter than honey. It is more dangerous than the strange woman of the Proverbs, whose mouth was smoother than oil. They had always their warm words about him and they stroked continually the fur of his vanity until it purred.

This editor said that within five months after Wallace took the job he was off with this crowd so much; was speaking so often for them; had his ear bent toward the sound of distant applause; that they, his assistants, had to write the articles which were his job and put his name over them. And he never seemed to mind. Or notice.

It was not long until he resigned and went over to the Communists entirely—to become a candidate for President, while the Commies worked among the convention delegates and prevented any resolution which would have made the convention American in character.

They took him on the strange tour of the South, to cause trouble. They arranged for the eggs to be thrown; they created the incidents of heckling.

It is impossible to conceive a man so bewitched, so completely captive. There were scoundrels about him; and there were enemies of his country with him. He was honest, though it is small compliment to say so, and this was his danger to America.

Now, he has quit . . . as many of his state leaders, who could see better than he . . . had done, many months before.

Henry Wallace, belatedly on the road to political Damascus, is the most bedraggled, and in many respects, pitiful figure that well-traveled road has known.

RALPH McGILL

They Were Never More Wrong

As a sort of introduction, I will have to say I was on the Chicago Round-Table program Sunday in a discussion of civil rights. I came off of it only slightly scarred, but still able to walk out of the room not badly scratched and not at all bowed.

The program was introduced by the statement that it was Abraham Lincoln's birthday, and that since civil rights were dear to his heart, it was fitting we discuss them. But, at a dinner the evening before the program, I had remarked that the the less they said about Lincoln the better. He was almost exactly on my side of the argument—namely, that while all of us know what the objectives are and are unreservedly for them, we know we must crawl before we walk, and we should know that while it is noble to die on the barricades, it is better for all concerned to get what one can in the name of progress. An all-or-nothing campaigner gets no comfort at all from Lincoln.

Union His one great passion was the Union—just as previously it had been Andrew Jackson's. Jackson was willing to hang John C. Calhoun and shoot Henry Clay if he had to do so to save the Union. (Later on he was to regret he hadn't done both.)

Lincoln kept his eye always on the truth and on what was right. He was capable of positive action and his courage was great. But he had an understanding of human nature and of the stubborn quality of folkways which caused him to have great compassion, charity for all people.

Therefore, knowing that the people want to move in the right direction, but that because of personalities, the inertia of customs and traditions, prejudices and historical loyalties, personal and local, they must be persuaded, he never got so far in front of the people they couldn't see where he was going and couldn't know what was in his mind.

Free When he freed the slaves, as a war emergency, he freed them only in the States still resisting. So meticulous was he that in some States where the Union Army was in partial occupation, he excluded from the emancipation the slaves in the counties so occupied. As late as 1865, when Georgia's Alexander Stephens headed the ill-fated peace mission to Hampton Roads, foredoomed by Jefferson Davis' strictures, Lincoln then told Stephens that he would be willing to extend slavery for at least five years to allow the South peaceably to end the system. He was willing, too, to recommend Federal subsidy to end it sooner. He always thought it was wicked and wrong. He never let anyone understand anything else. But he never at any time suggested the system be immediately concluded by fiat.

Argument He skillfully built up an argument against it. He was especially good at replying to the claim of some Southern owners that slavery was a good thing. "Although volume upon volume is written to prove slavery a very good thing," he said, "we never hear of a man who wishes to take the good of it by being a slave himself." He always hated slavery.

In 1857, in a speech at Springfield, he was asked if he believed a slave woman, pointed out, was his equal. He sensibly replied, "In some respects she certainly is not my equal, but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands, without asking leave of anyone else, she is my equal and the equal of all others." That, in essence, is the meaning of civil rights.

Need It would be a good thing if the Congress and the pressure groups would use the real Lincoln in their debates, their thinking and their approach to the problems bound up in the civil rights controversy which dominates the domestic field as the awful shadow of the hydrogen bomb darkens the skies of the world.

There is too much hypocrisy on the part of the pressure groups, which are saying to the Congressmen on their side, "We know you are going to have to compromise . . . but don't admit it and don't talk it. Fight it out on an all-or-nothing basis until we are beat."

These same men joined in holding up Lincoln as the ideal of the fight.

They were never more wrong.

The reason he is, perhaps, our most typical and our greatest American lies in the fact of his great understanding of how to persuade and lead.

RALPH McGILL

Reconstruction Has Just Begun

Theme of the current issue of The Reporter, a fortnightly magazine of fact and ideas, is "The South Moves Forward." Below are excerpts from an article in this issue by Ralph McGill entitled "The Real Reconstruction Begins."

In Cleveland, Ga., Jim Davidson, soldier of World War I and editor of The Cleveland Courier, talks and writes about the new life in the Appalachians, where once corn whiskey and a few hogs and sheep were the only crops, and teh burden of making a living was hard, and comforts few. Even the mountains are changing. Rural electrification has come—and still is coming. The mountaineers are planting clovers and grasses and hybrid corn. They are marketing millions of broilers each year. They are creating new, small dairies, and the big cheese firms are becoming interested.

"The mountains had it hard," Jim Davidson says. "We had small fields and couldn't compete with the big ones. Now, with hybrid corn and with grasses that will grow in our valleys and along our slopes to hold soil, we can build, and are building, a new and solid economy. There are pumps in the wells and water in the houses now. We've just begun. But we are on the way."

Grass In the South 10 years ago, a green field in January was an oddity. Today all over the South are rich meadows on which cattle can graze the year around. The livestock population has more than tripled, and there is almost a distinct cult of farmers who favor the new grasses and legumes that keep fields green in Winter: sericea, lespedeza, ladino, white Dutch, Manganese, and crimson clovers; Kentucky 31 fescue, and its rival from Oregon, kudzu—the miracle plant that heals land wounds that time alone will not heal, but worsen. Cattlemen from Nebraska, Kansas and Illinois come to look, and some even stay. There is also a trend toward small grains. Many a farmer, quitting cotton, has started planting oats and wheat, and found them rewarding.

"I felt like I had got out of jail when I quit cotton," one farmer told me last June, as we rode on the combine which was harvesting his oats. His wife, who once picked cotton, was happy in her newly electrified kitchen.

Towns The towns, too, have grown and improved. Finally, there are the people, whose faces don't look as they did 10 and 20 years ago.

But the South has by no means caught up. Measured by absolutes, it still lags in many details. Measured by the past, however, the gains have been dramatic. The South today has a feeling it is out of the woods. It still has its frustrations, and its infections, like the Ku Klux Klan, and the demagoguery of some of its politicians, but even these plagues are not as virulent as they used to be. The talk today is not so much of the two lynchings last year, but of the more than 20 that were prevented by forthright action of local law-enforcement officers. As for the Klan, it is an almost impotent organization, unfeared save in the few remote rural regions where population is sparse and frustration and poverty worst. Even in such areas, the Klan is growing less resolute.

There is still a struggle going on between the old and the new attitudes, and nothing reflects it better than recent action in the Dixiecrat State of Mississippi, where the Dixiecrat Governor took the lead in appropriating money to equalize educational facilities in the State, both as to equipment and pay. There are many lesser, but still important, illustrations of change and improvement in race relations, and of the corresponding increases in human dignity.

Problem It was in 1938 that President Roosevelt made public the study by a group of Southerners which proved the South to be the nation's chief economic problem.

Since 1938 the South's population has increased by more than 3,000,000, despite the heavy emigration. Wages are higher, farm income is greater, and agricultural practices are much improved and diversified. There are 5,000,000 more cattle. New industries have been established and more continue to come. Yet the South still receives only about a fifth of the nation's income, and still buys most of the nation's fertilizer.

In 1938, available figures show, the South mined one-tenth of the nation's iron ore, but produced only 7 percent of the nation's pig iron. By 1948, the South was producing about 13 percent of U. S. pig iron. In 1938, the South had 27 percent of the nation's installed hydroelectric generating capacity and a production of 21 percent of the nation's total power. Today it is estimated that the South has about 30 percent of the generating capacity and produces about 28 percent of the national total.

Improvement Since it has the most children and the least income, education is perhaps the region's major problem. Progress is being made. Georgia, for example, which had one of the most impoverished school systems, has increased its State school appropriations from $14,457,132 in 1938 to $50,875,000 in 1950. Such increased budgets are more or less the rule all over the South. Yet measured against the national figures, they still reveal a serious lag.

Perhaps the greatest improvement has been in public health, although even here the national figures reveal how far the South has yet to go. Malaria, once the worst plague, has been greatly reduced, and in many areas eliminated. The doctor shortage is most severe in the South.

According to a study made at the University of Georgia in 1935, the South's percentage of the nation's industry in 1930 was almost exactly that of 1865. It is against this background that one must measure the progress—and the tremendous lag which remains. Migration to the cities emphasizes the fact that, while there has been improvement in the farm and industrial economy, training for service industries is not receiving enough attention. These must, eventually, absorb much of the increase in urban populations.

For a generation now the South has talked and written of "a New South." The birth pains are at last beginning.

RALPH McGILL

31a White

A UN Attack On The VD Problem

Before, during and after the World War I, when the old U. S. Marine Corps transport, the Henderson, was moving sluggishly in toward Haiti, the duty detachments aboard would be gathered on the afterdeck and harangued about the dangers of venereal disease in the islands.

Constitution

Veteran top sergeants detailed for warnings had a talk on the horrors of venereal disease which would cause the faces of the young recruits to blanch as white as their "blancoed" leggings.

"Why, syphilis runs in the water there," they would conclude. "Don't you drink nothing 'less it comes out of a bottle and stay away from wimmin."

Tues. 4-18-50

After a few rounds with Haitian beer or rum the horrors of the lecture unfortunately would fade from the least impressionable Marine Corps and sailor minds with results almost invariably bad. The VD rate in Haiti continued high. It is high to this good day, even though the Marines have been gone for a quarter century.

VD eradication, like so many other problems, depends chiefly on education and treatment. The Scandinavian-language countries practically eliminated venereal diseases even though they were seafaring nations and most of their cities were ports. They did so by a vigorous campaign of education and treatment which began a good 50 years ago. (Henrich Ibsen, the great Norwegian playwright, wrote his "Ghosts" in 1881, the first play or book which dealt directly with the tragic results of syphilis.

Atlanta, Ga.

Treatment

The world benefited greatly from the discovery of arsphenamine (606 or Salvarsan). It did not cure. It checked syphilis where it was. It had to be given intravenously, and the treatment had to be continued across a period of two or three years, often more. (As a pre-med student working in city clinics I helped give many such treatments and saw many of the horrible, merciless tragedies produced by the disease.)

Because it was expensive and the treatments had to be taken regularly across a considerable span of time, a shockingly large percentage of victims never came back for the second shot. The net results was that this virulent disease which the great Dr. Britton Osler called "The Great Imitator" because it could seem to be almost any of the known diseases—heart trouble, tuberculosis, rheumatism or mental illness—went almost unchecked. Treatment of the second most common and dangerous social infection also was long and expensive.

Cure

The world was waiting for a cure which would reach the masses of infected persons—the floaters, the uninformed, and the poverty-stricken inhabitants of slums or isolated reaches of civilization.

Penicillin and related drugs were the answer. They cure most—but not all—cases.

The United States has made phenomenal progress, even though in so doing a dismaying rate of infection was, and is, revealed.

United Nations

Now comes the United Nations with a proposal through its health organization, that a penicillin attack be made on the disease in Haiti and the Dominican Republic where the rate is frightfully high—one in every four suffering from syphilis or gonorrhea and 85 percent suffering from yaws, a skin disease caused by a spirochete very similar to that of syphilis.

Similar campaigns are planned for other regions of the world where required. This plan by the United Nations will cause thoughtful persons to wonder if it is not entirely possible that in our preoccupation with the cold war vis-a-vis Russia, the United Nations may not have been doing other valuable and worthwhile tasks which would demonstrate it to have more stability and power for world action than had been noted or imagined.

Certainly such a medical campaign on what long has been an acute world problem, crippling and killing more persons than war, would be of great value to humanity and to the prestige of the UN itself.

Illustration

Most of the backward and colonial regions of the world need such attention as is planned for Haiti. Richard H. Rich, of Atlanta, served in South America during the World War II, in charge of the job of accelerating the flow of critical materials.

One of his stories illustrating his task had to do with the greatly harmful effect of venereal disease on the production of critical materials. In the far interior of Brazil he found production of mica at a standstill. The Mayor of the wretchedly poor, unsanitary, illiterate town, said that his people were too sick to work. Rockefeller Foundation doctors were sent there. They found more than 80 percent of the inhabitants to be suffering from venereal diseases. After six months of mass treatment and sanitation methods production of mica was at an all-time high. It remained so.

There is no world social problem more pressing than that of venereal disease. No one world problem causes more sorrow, more deaths, more crippled children, more insanity, more economic loss.

A United Nations assault on the problem would do great good and would establish the UN in the eyes and hearts of millions as a necessary and constructive world force.

RALPH McGILL

31a White

The Commies Were Present—Money Hungry

Carrollton (Ga.) offers the latest illustration of how the Commies use the misfortunes of others to make "hay" for their own pockets.

A courtroom hearing on a contempt charge was adjourned there on Saturday to allow the solicitor to investigate the connection of known Communists in the courtroom with the case before the court.

Present was Homer Chase, Southern Communist organizer, a shrill egotist and incompetent; his wife, and others who were his close associates as members or fellow travelers when the Commies were running the Henry Wallace party here some months ago.

Constitution

Guests

If the solicitor is interested, some of his courtroom guests were recently identified under oath in an Atlanta court as Communists or as those frequenting Communist meetings. These latter subsequently refused to answer whether or not they were members of the party, but did not deny attending meetings with Chase.

Mon. 4-17-50

All Communists are liars and perjurers as a matter of record. They are so instructed by the articles of the last Communist International. Whittaker Chambers and other former Communists have testified in recent trials they lied and committed perjury as casually as passing the time of day because to do so was to carry out the Communist orders and techniques. By the fact of his membership, no Communist may be believed on oath.

The local Commies are no different. Few in number, they are as foul a lot of schemers as will be found in any other section, though not as able. The party sends its incompetents and its Class D punks to the provinces, but they try hard to ape their masters in doing what harm they can to the processes of justice.

Atlanta, Ga.

Methods

It will be found, I believe, if the solicitor asks about it, that the frame-up charges were inspired by the local Southern Communist headquarters.

I believe he can find, too, that some of those who were induced to sign the paper did so believing they were signing a paper which had for its purpose merely the raising of funds for the defense of the man convicted of murder.

They will find, I believe, the Commies or the fellow travelers who bossed the paper changed it to a charge that the defendant was framed by the court. This was, in fact, an accusation that the grand jury, the trial jury and the court had conspired and joined together in an alleged agreement to frame and convict by false testimony the defendant before them. The charge of contempt is certainly proper, but whether to jail the guilty is, in my mind, a doubtful decision. The Commies would like it. They would propagandize it. What we have to do with this vermin is exactly what we did during the Wallace campaign, the effort to wreck a local church and other activities of the Commies—put the spotlight on them. Reveal them for the frauds and phonies they are. They like that least of all.

Method

Morris Ernst, a well-known New York lawyer who is regarded by man as rather far to the left, nevertheless, is the man who years ago exposed the "defense" racket used by the Communists.

For example, they gathered hundreds of thousands of dollars to defend the Scottsboro defendants years ago. Little of the large sum obtained was spent for defense. They spent it to keep the Daily Worker going, to pay their organizers, and to print propaganda pamphlets for the Commie cause. There are many such examples.

The poor devil convicted in Carrollton will have little of the Commie money spent on him. They will use him as a propaganda drum and will milk the cause for every penny they can.

Pistol

The man convicted of a particularly brutal and merciless killing in the case in question was convicted on circumstantial evidence of a strong nature. He owned the pistol which did the killing. He swore he had lent the pistol to another and he had an alibi which the jury didn't believe. There is a strong belief the whole story was not developed. The defendant apparently was mixed up with a group of white and Negro whiskey-makers, with possible taxi-cab vice angles, none of which were possible to connect with the murder case but which, without much doubt, must have been a part of it.

The fate of the convicted man interests them no more than had the fate of others whose cases they have slimed and distorted to get money for themselves and their propaganda.

The solicitor will be doing students and the complete idealists a favor if he can reveal that the Commies and fellow travelers tricked some of non-Communist persons into signing the document in question by saying it was to be an appeal for funds and then turning it into an attack on the integrity of the juries and court.

Meanwhile, the avenues of appeal and justice remain open to the defendant.

The Commies have their mad-dog slobber on the case, but the avenues of justice still are there.

In closing, please note again—the Ku Klux Klan and the Communists are the two organizations doing us, our courts and our social processes the most harm. The Commies know that. That's why they privately support the Klan, often with donations of money sent here from New York for that purpose. The Commies and Kluxers are both evil.

WESTBROOK PEGLER (White)

Mrs. Roosevelt and the Negro

31a

The most pathetic element of the Empress Eleanor's following are those poor, beguiled Negroes who somehow preserve a dumb faith in a charlatan whose own actions and words mock her political protestations against racial discrimination.

Perhaps a half dozen times a year so-called "foundations" arrange public ceremonies with oratory to hang medals on this indomitable quack in recognition of her selfless services on behalf of "groups" which believe they are put upon.

Actually, the only racial "group" who do not get an even break in the United States are native Americans of a relatively ancient line. These are the descendants of the African slaves. Excepting the Puerto Ricans and a few others, the American Negroes on the average have "been here" longer than the overwhelming majority of the white people. Yet European immigrants and their children by the millions, even refugees of the current flux of doubtful motives and questionable loyalty, calmly assume a superior status and are confirmed in that status by social custom. In this painful situation, anyone with a leathery conscience and some political facility can exploit the Negro's yearning for political purposes.

Constitution

But what, actually, is her position on discrimination in employment? To be sure, she has helped to load numbers of them onto the public payrolls so that they would be grateful to her party at the taxpayers' expense. Unquestionably she has campaigned and harangued against segregation and discrimination in housing and in jobs where other persons, but not the Roosevelts, would be exposed to the friction which has been the cause of discrimination.

Wed. 4-5-50

Let the Negroes who trustingly believe that she is color-blind, that she cannot, in her very heart, discriminate between white and dark read the facts which grope out like skeleton hands from a grisly closet.

Atlanta

The fair employment practice propositions all hold it to be no mere social error or unkindness but a crime to reject a human being where a job exists which that person can completely hold. That is discrimination. It is, in the same hypocritical code, the crime of segregation to set aside certain fields of work for Negroes, such as domestic service and—

We need go no further.

In Eleanor's first book, she wrote that she somehow found it necessary to leave a houseful of young and mischievous children to spend two months giving of herself at her husband's side on a triumphant ride through the ruins of France with Woodrow Wilson and his wife, who was given to abnegation no less than Eleanor.

It was not recorded that Madam President flinched or shrank from adulation and the Empress Eleanor-To-Be got a dry run for her future career on that royal course through blighted lands.

Now, on her return to Washington, "things were not running smoothly . . . I had been gone too long and drastic steps had to be taken. Two of the servants who had been with me for about seven years decided that they would prefer to return to New York and I decided that life in Washington would be simpler if I took colored servants who could be obtained there, which would obviate my having to go to New York to find white ones."

A paragraph later she wrote "Mrs. Selmes, years ago, told me that, properly trained, the colored people were the most faithful and efficient servants in the world and I had always known and admired Isabella's mammy."

The sincerity of this writing cannot be questioned. Although "mammy" has become a hateful word among Negroes, Eleanor Roosevelt, at that time, before she took up hypocrisy as a political speciality to exploit the Negro voters, undoubtedly did hold the kindly superior attitude toward Negroes which is implicit in those words.

But this is not quite fair for, after all, this pot-boiler was published in 1937. Her eyes opened later.

Yes?

Well, if so, how does one explain this from another commercial memoir, "White House Diary," by Henrietta Nesbitt, the Roosevelts' housekeeper, who, perhaps inevitably, thought of herself as a sort of celebrity and fancied that she shared the pangs of the cruel unfairness that the imperial martyrs had to endure:

> **"The first criticism against our housekeeping was when Mrs. Roosevelt brought in all colored help, instead of the mixed staff the Hoovers had in the kitchen, until it was solid Negro. We retained many who were already there and brought down two colored butlers, the President's valet and the two cooks, Ida and Elizabeth, from the Governor's mansion in Albany."**

Ida and Elizabeth being Negroes and servants seem not to have last names worth mentioning here.

"This started the to-do about our way of running the White House and it kept up for the next 13 years."

So discrimination and segregation in employment prevailed in the very citadel of the war on racism throughout the reign of those whose hearts bled for the wretched victims of such ignominy.

"We had our reasons for making this change," Mrs. Nesbitt continues. "Mrs. Roosevelt and I agreed that a staff solid in any one color works in better understanding and maintains a smoother-running establishment."

But not, of course, in factory or barracks or the crew's quarters of a destroyer.

"I had seen this work when I ran three households on the Staatsburg farm and Mrs. Roosevelt had found it out over a lifetime of running large houses," Mrs. Nesbitt said.

Do I make my point?

Rankin File

A Strange And Sunny Manhunt

(By Allen Rankin)

THIS IS ABOUT one of the nation's strangest manhunts. It's object was to track down a man and tell him he didn't kill the man he thought he had killed 58 years before.

The "killing" occurred in the Civil War skirmish of Hatcher's Run, near Petersburg, Virginia, in March of 1865. It was near sundown. Stumbling forward in the muck of a deadwood swamp, a small band of outnumbered Confederates were trying desperately to retake their captured picket line.

There was a hot exchange of rifle fire. Colonel Daniel Shipman Troy, heading the 60th Alabama Regiment, suddenly went down under the smack of a Yankee bullet. Two men were immediately convinced that Col. Troy was dead. The first of these was Col. Troy.

Wrote Troy later: ". . . a bullet struck me in my left breast. I afterwards found that it entered above the nipple and, ranging downwards, passed out about two or three inches from the spine.

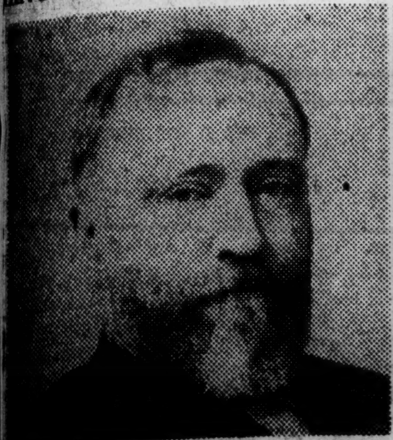
"I turned instantly to Major Mims and said, 'Major, I am a dead man.' I felt consciousness passing away and a swoon coming on which I was sure was death . . . I recollect trying to avoid falling on a man who was lying on the ground in front of me, but consciousness was completely gone before I reached the ground."

The second man who was sure Col. Troy was dead was the man who shot him—Private George W. Tompkins, of the 124th New York Volunteers.

Tompkins, in fact, got the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism in the action in which he "killed" Col. Troy and captured the 59th Alabama Flag with which Troy was waving forward his troops.

It was Col. Troy who first discovered he was not a dead man after all. He later wrote for his children here:

"How long unconsciousness continued, I do not know, but it was nearly sunset when we started into the fight and it was not quite dark when consciousness returned, so that it could have not have been very long. My first sensation was one of being rolled over on my back; and immediately a man's hand was thrust into my pockets. It had become customary at that period of the war for soldiers or camp followers on each side to rob the dead bodies of the enemy left on a battle field; and knowing this custom, it excited no surprise in me that my body should be thus robbed. I was perfectly certain that I was dead, and that my state of existence was that after death . . . I was wondering what would happen next in the new life."



Col. Daniel Shipman Troy and the 59th Alabama Flag he bore to what he first mistook for his death.

But Troy was soon to discover he was alive, a captive of the Union Army. The man who had robbed him had saved his life by turning him over and relieving the pressure on his wound.

The Yankee private, Tompkins, however, did not find out he had not killed his man until later—58 years later.

★

The Search Begins

In 1923, nearly six decades later, the Troy brothers here happened to read in the War Department files how a man named Tompkins had been decorated for an action in which he "killed" their father. It was the first inkling they had of who had done the job.

Robert E. Troy is an accountant with a yen for balancing the books. It occurred to him it would be a nice gesture to find the Yankee, Tompkins, if he was still alive, and tell him that he hadn't really killed his father after all.

"I had talked to four or five parties who had killed other men," says Mr. Troy, "and I didn't know any of them who felt good about it. I thought the chances were excellent that he (Tompkins), like those I had known, didn't get particular pleasure out of the recollection of the incident."

So Accountant Troy began his nation-wide manhunt—a manhunt whose whole objective was to find a former enemy and try to "bring a little sunshine into the old man's soul" by telling him at least one of his shots had been unfatal.

Troy didn't waste any time. He went straight to Washington. He walked into the office of the official G.A.R. paper, the National Tribune and stated the nature of his "Yankee hunt."

★

He Got His Man

At first," he recalls, "the editor looked at me like I was a lineal descendant of Baron Munchausen. Then, when I finally got across to him what I was driving at, he lit up like a Christmas tree. The typewriters began to pound out the story of the son of a Confederate Colonel was looking for the Yankee who only thought he had killed his father."

On his manhunt, Troy also went to the G.A.R. headquarters in Brooklyn. "There were about 15 or 20 old fellows playing dominoes or checkers, and when they were told about me, that stopped the game right now. They were all delighted to see me and offered all kinds of suggestions to help me find my man, if alive."

In Schenectady, New York, one morning, ex-private George W. Tompkins, veteran of the Grand Army of the Republic, was reading his National Tribune. Suddenly, the eyes of this old man over 80 bugged to see his name in print—to find he was the object of a search.

Yes, he remembered a swamp at sundown at Hatcher's Run, he wrote the Troy family here. For 58 years he had remembered, not with pleasure—with, in fact, no little anguish—the "brave Confederate" he had thought he killed. It had been a matter of who shot first. His rifle had gone off a split second before the Colonel's.

He was glad to know the man he had "killed" had lived 30 more full years of life. It made him happy to hear it.

Mr. Troy sent him a photograph of the flag he had captured, a flag now in the Archives. Other amenities were exchanged.

Private George Tompkins died a short while later, a happier man for having been tracked down by one of history's kindliest manhunts.

JACK TARVER

Tolerance Comes With Security

CARROLLTON—Carroll County might well be Exhibit A in the evidence of those who seek to make a case that racial intolerance stems primarily from economic insecurity and that racial tension lessens as the level of prosperity increases.

Carroll is a prosperous county . . . and an enlightened one.

That some of its enlightenment and progressiveness stems from its excellent newspapers and that wonderful institution, West Georgia College, is not to be denied. But the fact remains that the county has maintained economic stability over a long period of years, an economic stability which has not only supported its newspapers and contributed to its college but also made for full employment, white and black. Thus, any underlying racial antagonisms have not been aggravated by widespread job competition, real or imaginary.

As a consequence, week before last when the Unadilla and Donalsonville incidents were bringing notoriety and embarrassment to the State, Stanley Parkman was able to write in his Carroll County Georgian of "the fine relationships that exist in Carrollton and Carroll County between our white people and our Negroes."

"We are proud of the fact that on two occasions Graham Jackson has entertained capacity audiences in Carrollton," Parkman said with reference to the forced cancellation of the Donalsonville senior class' fund-raising presentation of Jackson. "He is one of the most popular entertainers ever to appear here. He could no doubt return at any time and there is not an auditorium in town that would accomodate the crowd. Nobody ever thought of raising the question of his color.

"We are proud of the fact that on numerous occasions our fine white ministers have spoken to Negro churches. Rev. Carson Pritchard, Director of the Religious Panel of the Carroll Service Council, has done a great deal of work for Christ among the Negro churches of the community. That work has never been smeared by a question of color.

"Several weeks ago one of our good and honored Negro couples, Charlie Ball and his wife, Mattie, celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary and this newspaper published their invitation for white friends to call by their home during the day. A great number of white friends did call and presented gifts and expressed congratulations and thanks for their good citizenship.

"When the April Grand Jury for Carroll County was drawn a Negro, Sam West, was a member of that honored body of men. His presence caused no stir of excitement. He has been the faithful janitor of the Carrollton Post Office for years and has reared a worthy family.

"Yes, sure, we favor segregation of the races in Carroll County and so do these good colored people. Charlie Ball, Sam West and hundreds like them will continue to join the better white people in favoring segregation and they will continue to help make this a fine God-fearing community."

See what I mean?

Carroll County is a prosperous county . . . and an enlightened one where the two races live together in harmony and security. It is a significant thing even though it isn't the sort of Southern racial relationship which finds its way into Time magazine and the headlines of Eastern newspapers.

JACK TARVER

Secession, Too, Must Be Financed

Anyway you look at it, last week's Supreme Court decision in the two most recent Civil Rights' cases is going to cost the State of Georgia a lot of money.

If you think, as do most of those who can read—and who took the time to do so before grabbing up their muskets and letting out a rebel yell—if you think the decisions merely reaffirmed the long-standing doctrine that segregation is permissible so long as "separate but equal" facilities are provided, it is becoming increasingly evident that more and more emphasis is being placed on the word "equal." Indeed, it is painfully apparent that the court has about reached the point where it is ready to state the proposition as "EQUAL if separate!"

This means, if it is going to maintain the separation of the races in its education system, the State of Georgia is going to have to spend millions of dollars improving its Negro school facilities.

Of course, you may believe, as Governor Talmadge professes, that the whole thing is a nefarious plot, scalawag-inspired, to force Negroes into white schools, the inescapable inference being that the separate but equal doctrine is a subterfuge to be abandoned at the propitious moment.

If you are as convinced of this as the Governor is, and if you feel as strongly about it as he seems to, then you will admit that we still must raise a lot of money, maybe even more than is indicated under the other premise. It takes a tremendous amount, in these days of mechanized warfare, to equip and maintain an army capable of defying the United States Government for an indeterminate length of time.

Separate and Unequal

Either way you interpret the Supreme Court's mandate, in short, the State of Georgia is going to have to spend a lot of money if the separation of races is going to be continued in our schools.

It should have long ago.

It is no co-incidence that Negro citizens have won their cases for better facilities in every single county in which they have brought suit. Few white people realize how grossly the average Georgia community has discriminated against Negro children in providing schools and teachers. If more white leaders had ever had occasion to see the almost universal inadequacy of classrooms and desks and toilet facilities of Georgia's over-crowded Negro schools, conditions would have been improved long ago. It has been, in too many instances, a case of out-of-sight, out-of-mind, of whites thinking of Negro school houses in terms of the familiar, well-kept facilities their own children attend rather than of the dilapidated, leaking structures which Negro schools too frequently are.

Georgia law provides for separate but equal facilities.

But the truth of the matter is that Georgia provides, in most instances, facilities which are separate and unequal, inexcusably and indefensibly so.

Taxes Whether Georgia is to effect an equality of educational opportunity—as the law is coming increasingly to insist—or whether we are going to call out the militia and fire on Sumter again, the State must have additional revenue. That is one fact upon which everyone can agree.

One candidate for Governor, committed to the so-called Minimum Foundation Program for Education—which includes a program to build up Negro schools—says the only way the money can be raised is through a sales tax.

The incumbent, while promising to support every conceivable expansion of State services, has refused to take a stand on the question even though his chief adviser is one of the most able and articulate advocates of such a levy.

Where does that leave the average voter?

Will he vote for M. E. Thompson and a sales tax?

Or will he go along with Herman Talmadge's evasive intimations that the necessary money can be raised by box suppers and from radio quiz programs.

Of course, if Herman carries his tirades against the federal government to their logical conclusion, he may have in mind financing our secession the way we did before . . . by melting down our wedding rings.

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

31a (White)

Russell Lays Plans For Fight on FEPC

WASHINGTON—As Floor Leader of the Southern Democratic bloc opposed to the President's civil rights program, Sen. Richard B. Russell now anticipates that the delayed battle over the pending Fair Employment Practices Bill, or FEPC, as it is known, will get under way in the upper chamber early next month.

The junior Georgia Senator is informed that Administration leaders are planning to bring the controversial legislation forward shortly after the Florida primaries, which come May 2. He is making his plans accordingly. When the bill is brought out Southern Democrats are prepared to make the Senate rafters ring with another old-fashioned filibuster which will be the equal of anything of the kind attempted before.

Constitution

Sen. Russell, who led a similar fight against civil rights legislation at the last session, is convinced that the coming filibuster will be equally successful. He has already put his ducks in a row and is prepared to move with his marshaled forces at a moment's notice. Southern Democrats opposed to the bill have been instructed to remain constantly on the scene and to make no engagements which will take them away from Washington during the period of the promised battle.

Jun. 4 - 23 - 50

An expert hand at directing Senate filibusters, Russell, with his usual skill, has laid out a line of strategy that will be hard to defeat. His plan is to back the FEPC Bill up against other important pending legislation which would be placed in jeopardy if the filibuster is allowed to go on indefinitely. In short, he will seek to see to it that several bills high on the administration priority list are awaiting final action when the FEPC measure is brought to the floor.

Atlanta, Ga.

George in Key Spot

Walter F. George, Georgia's senior Senator, is in position to play an effective hand in the Russell strategy by virtue of his Chairmanship of the powerful Finance Committee. The George committee has before it two highly important pieces of unfinished business of vital concern to the Administration—social security extension and tax revision. These could and probably will be held up as a backdrop to the coming filibuster.

If the anti-FEPC talkfest threatens to become long drawn out—as it will be—Administration leaders may be counted on to throw in the sponge by withdrawing it, rather than take chances on other more important measures failing.

Incidentally, the general understanding is that Administration leaders are purposely delaying action on FEPC until after the Florida primaries in order not to unduly embarrass Sen. Claude Pepper, a mild supporter of civil rights legislation, who is in the fight of his life over renomination. The Florida Senator is one of the few Southern Democrats who take a different attitude on the civil rights program. Already a watered-down version of FEPC has been passed by the House and is now awaiting final Senate action.

Talmadge Appraised

During his recent visit to Washington to attend the conference over a projected RFC loan to the Stone Mountain Park Authority, Gov. Herman Talmadge confided to friends in the Georgia delegation that he expected to win all but a half dozen or so counties in the June primary. He was not making this claim publicly, but merely appraising the situation as it looked to him at this time. In case anyone may get the impression the Governor was overoptimistic in his figures, it can be said that most Georgia Congressmen express the opinion privately that the Talmadge appraisal was conservative, if anything.

Arnall's Red Face

Former Gov. Ellis Arnall is taking a lot of good-natured ribbing from members of the State congressional group over his prediction, made a week earlier, that the United States Supreme Court would throw out Georgia's controversial county-unit system. After talks with various Administration officials during his recent visit to Washington, Arnall had gone out on a limb in expressing the opinion the highest tribunal would declare the Georgia primary system unconstitutional. He hardly had gotten out of the capital before the Court ruled the other way.

But if the former Governor was wrong in his predictions, he was no less surprised at the timing of the decision than the State's Congressmen and two Senators. No one had expected a decision to be handed down when it was. Customarily in cases of the kind the Supreme Court decides first whether it will assume jurisdiction and if it does it then sets a date for later arguments on the issues involved. In the Georgia county-unit system case the Court wrapped the litigation into one package and rendered a decision upholding the State law. Hardly anyone was prepared for that.

As to the meaning of the Supreme Court decision, Rep. Sydney Camp, of Newnan, reflected the general sentiment of Georgia delegation members in saying the "county-unit system will be with us from now on as a result of the court action." He and other members of the congressional group see little chance of the system being successfully attacked in further litigation after the high tribunal decided—7 to 2—as it did.

Editors Meet

Georgia's leading daily newspapers were well represented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors here during the last half of the past week. Georgia editors in attendance included Wright Bryan, of The Atlanta Journal; Jack Tarver, Associate Editor of The Constitution; John L. Sutlive, of The Savannah Press; Bob Brown, of The Columbus Ledger; Joe Parham, of The Macon News; Bert Struby, of The Macon Telegraph, together with Dean Ray Nixon, of the Emory University School of Journalism.

Those attending the annual ASNE meeting are usually afforded an opportunity to meet and hear about everybody in the Government from President Truman on down. This year saw the largest attendance since the war, with editors of leading papers from about every State present.

Andrews Appointment

Ellis Arnall sees the "probability" of the Northern District of Georgia losing one of the two Federal judgeships now authorized, if the Senate fails to confirm the nomination of Judge Neil Andrews, presently serving under a recess appointment made by President Truman last Fall. The Andrews nomination is pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee. No indication has been given as to when it will be acted upon. Sen. Russell, who had joined with Sen. George in recommending former Judge Boyd Sloan, of Gainesville, for the post, is yet to make a formal statement, but is generally reported to be opposed to confirmation.

Arnall, who was at the White House to see the President the other day, says the vacancy will probably be allowed to remain unfilled, if Judge Andrews' nomination is rejected. He thinks the President will use this means to punish the two Georgia Senators for their refusal to go along on the appointment, should they fight confirmation.

Other informed Georgia sources, however, dispute the Arnall appraisal of the situation. They say the President could be counted on to fill the vacancy, but that he would not necessarily be guided by any indorsement of the two Senators—using that means as a more effective way of showing his displeasure over the Andrews rejection.

Arnall refused to reveal the source of his information which prompted him to say what he did, but the inference was that he got this impression from talking with people around the White House. He held a private conference with the President on some undisclosed subject when he was last here about a week ago.